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## MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# Modern Language Notes

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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON VOLTAIRE FROM 1931 TO 1940

The bibliography which follows is intended as a supplement to *A Century of Voltaire study: a bibliography of writings on Voltaire, 1825 to 1925*, which was published in 1929, and also to "Bibliographical data on Voltaire from 1926 to 1930" which appeared in the May 1933 issue of *Modern Language Notes*. It is limited to books and articles about Voltaire and does not include editions of his works except in certain cases where there is considerable critical material. With the exception of several titles marked by an asterisk, all books and periodicals listed have been examined by the compiler. In a few instances, the name of a library follows the entry, indicating verification by correspondence. There are undoubtedly additional titles which have not been available, largely because of recent world events. Further information will be appreciated.

The classification of the material follows that used in the original bibliography with the following exceptions: Part III has not been subdivided, Part IV has only two subdivisions, and in Part VI, the items have been arranged alphabetically by author or editor instead of by the title of Voltaire's work. All the correspondence has been grouped together, so that it will be necessary to refer to that section as well as to the headings in which one may be interested.

The abbreviations follow in general those of the earlier publications. However, for economy of space, serials or special publications appearing only once or twice in the text are given recognizable titles without abbreviations given in the list.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are employed:

*Bull. Bibl.*—Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire.

*Bull. S. H. Pr.*—Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français.

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*Bull. S. H. Th.*—Bulletin de la Société des historiens du théâtre.

*Intermédiaire*—Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux.

*Mercure*—Le Mercure de France.

*MLN.*—Modern language notes.

*MP.*—Modern philology.

*N. Litt.*—Les nouvelles littéraires.

*N&Q.*—Notes and queries.

*PMLA.*—Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.

*RCC.*—Revue des cours et conférences.

*RHL.*—Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France.

*RLC.*—Revue de littérature comparée.

*R. Paris*—Revue de Paris.

*RR.*—Romanic review.

*TLS.*—Times literary supplement.

*Z. Fr. Spr. L.*—Zeitschrift für französische sprache und literatur.

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## THE APOCRYPHA AND CHAUCER'S HOUSE OF FAME

To the long established list of analogues to Chaucer's *House of Fame*<sup>1</sup> I propose still another: the apocalyptic vision of St. John in the New Testament. Though lacking for the most part in instances of verbal similarity, the Revelation of St. John offers a number of suggestive parallels which cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence.

The meagre details of Ovid and Vergil and Boethius are acknowledged to be insufficient to account for the magnificent portrait in the third book of *Lady Fame*.<sup>2</sup> Rambeau's contention that Chaucer drew his goddess in the image of Mary, mother of God, enthroned in Dante's heaven, is weak, so scattered through the *Divine Comedy* and so dissimilar are the resemblances cited.<sup>3</sup> Cummings<sup>4</sup> has completely disposed of the identification by Koeppel<sup>5</sup> and Child<sup>6</sup> of Chaucer's *Fame* with the *Gloria del popolo mondano* of Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*.

That Chaucer had the vision of St. John in mind when composing the account of the palace of *Fame* in his vision poem is established by the poem itself. In describing the goddess of *Fame* enthroned in the palace, Chaucer borrows Vergil's designation of the deity as many-eyed (*Aeneid*, iv, 180-183). This detail put him immediately in mind of the Revelation account (iv. 6) of the four beasts 'full of eyes before and behind' to which he makes reference:<sup>7</sup>

the bestes fourē  
That Goddes trone gunne honoure  
As John writ in th' Apocalips. (HF. 1384-85.)

<sup>1</sup> See W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, Chaucer Society, Second Series 39 (1909).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16; see also E. F. Shannon, *Chaucer and the Roman Poets*, Harvard Studies, vii (1929), 118.

<sup>3</sup> A. Rambeau, *Englische Studien*, III (1880), 252 ff.

<sup>4</sup> H. M. Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to . . . Boccaccio* (Menasha, Wis., 1916), pp. 21-32; see also Sypherd, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Emil Koeppel, *Anglia*, xiv, n. f. 2 (1892), 233 ff.

<sup>6</sup> C. G. Child, *MLN*, x (1895), 379-384.

<sup>7</sup> Rambeau calls attention to Dante's reference to the same Revelation passage in the *Purgatorio* and uses it to establish a relation between the *Divine Comedy* and the *House of Fame*. *Englische Studien*, III, 259.

Detailed examination of this section of the *House of Fame* seems to establish a close chain of associative links between the sacred and the profane vision before and after this reference. More of the Revelation than the simple detail of the eyes was in Chaucer's mind when picturing the goddess of Renown. Just before the mention of the "four bestes," Chaucer had been describing the goddess seated upon an imperial throne, her head touching heaven, "Ther as shynen sterres sevene" (HF 1376). The apocalyptic picture of God on his heavenly seat (iv. 2) with "seven lamps of fire burning before the throne," (iv. 5), inevitably came to his mind's eye. Not merely the four beasts surrounding "Goddess trone," then, but the entire throne scene in heaven must have been engrossing Chaucer's thoughts.

Confirmation of this seems implicit in the passages immediately following the reference to Revelation. The description in the Revelation uses precious stones to record the glory of God:<sup>8</sup>

and he that sat [upon the throne] was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine stone: and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald (iv.3).

In like wise Chaucer describes the enthroned goddess, but more briefly:

But Lord! the perry and the richesse  
I saugh sitting on this godesse. (HF. 1393-4.)

The succeeding lines in the poem describing the chorus of the Nine Muses point home again the analogy with the supernal scene:

And Lord! the hevenyssh melodye  
Of songes, ful of armonye  
I herde about her trone ysonge  
That al the paleys-walles ronge! (HF. 1395-98.)

They seem an echo of the lines of the Revelation describing the celestial choir: "And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne." (v. 11) The voices rise around the exalted goddess of Fame in this 'hevenyssh melodye':

And ever mo eternally,  
They songe of Fame, as thoo herd y  
"Heryed be thou and thy name,  
Goddesse of Renoun or of Fame!" (HF. 1403-06.)

<sup>8</sup> Gloria del popolo mondano in Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione* is also bejewelled. But see criticism of H. M. Cummings, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

So too, eternally, does the paeon sound in the Apocalypse:

And every creature . . . heard I saying, Blessing and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever (v. 13).

Finally, some similarity is evident in the description of those grouped about the respective thrones. On pillars of metal lined up on either side of Fame's dais stand twelve statues of famed writers of antiquity like Homer, Vergil, Ovid—'folk of digne reverence' (HF 1419 ff.). In the apocalyptic vision the throne is flanked by double the number of stations in Fame's hall—twenty-four seats; and "upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting" (iv. 4).

All of these alleged borrowings, it must be noted, are from two successive and connected chapters of the Revelation of St. John, both dealing with a scene in heaven. Further, they have to do with lines in the *House of Fame* which are likewise in close sequence and closely related in theme.

An additional detail in the Revelation, somewhat apart from those details which have been cited, displays a suggestive similarity to certain elements in Chaucer's work. This has to do with the goddess of Fame's trumpeter, Aeolus, god of the winds. Aeolus is the trumpeter who by means of his two trumpets Clere Laude and Sklaundre proclaims to the world the decisions of Fame. A vast throng of suppliants

of sondry regiounes  
of alleskynnes condiciouns  
That dwelle in erthe under the mone  
Pore and ryche (HF. 1529-32.)

presents itself before the capricious goddess, beseeching special consideration. Eight times Aeolus places either his gold or his black trumpet to his lips to spread through the world as decreed by Fame the renown or shame of a particular group of petitioners. No principle of justice governs the goddess' judgments; they are dispensed out of mere whim or arbitrariness.

In the Revelation, the situation is measurably different, but there are significant parallels. In the eighth and ninth chapters of the Testament vision there is a representation of the equitable judgment of heaven. A great multitude gathers in front of the throne, "of all nations, and kindreds, and people and tongues,"

(viii. 9)—good people who receive the gifts of God. For the evil on earth another award is ready. Seven angels with seven trumpets stand before the throne of God as Aeolus stands before the throne of Fame. With blasts of the trumpet each angel in turn sounds the judgment of heaven on things evil, just as Aeolus with successive blasts on his trumpets sounds the judgment of Fame on evil and good alike. As Aeolus trumpeted his tidings that "through the world wente the soun," so the plaguing effects of the angels' blasts penetrate to every corner of the earth. Noteworthy is the resemblance in detail between the description of the fifth angel's trumpet peal and that of the first swelling blast from Aeolus' instrument. The Revelation account relates that the fifth angel sounded his trumpet

And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit (ix. 2).

Similarly, in Chaucer's poem Aeolus begins to blow into his black trumpet "that fouler than the devel was,"

And such a smoke gan out wende  
Out of his foule trumpes ende,  
Blak, bloo, grenyssh, swartish red  
As doth where that men melte led,  
Loo, al on high fro the tuel.  
And therto oo thing saugh I wel,  
That the ferther that hit ran,  
The gretter wexen hit began,  
As dooth the ryver from a welle,  
And hyt stank as the pit of helle. (HF. 1645-54.)

Significant is the agreement in both accounts of such elements as the sounding of the trumpets, the resulting smoke, the comparison with a furnace, the vast extent of the smoke, and the association of the smoke with the pit of hell.

Another set of possible borrowings from the Revelation is to be found in Chaucer's description of the approach to and abode of Lady Fame. The resemblance, however general, between the vision of the New Jerusalem, penultimate chapter of the Revelation, and Fame's dwelling place<sup>9</sup> is sufficiently marked to give ground

<sup>9</sup> Neilson considered the details of the New Jerusalem a possible source for a similar palace, that of Venus, in the pseudo-Chaucerian *The Court of Love*. W. A. Neilson, *Harvard Studies*, vi (Boston, 1899), 23.

for the belief that Chaucer here is in debt to the Bible. Since the New Jerusalem could have provided the poet only with suggestions for the setting and palace of the third book, it is evident that Chaucer drew on other sources as well.

The points of similarity are the following:

1. Just as the eagle carries Chaucer aloft and leaves him at the foot of the rock on which Fame's hall stands, so an angel carries away St. John to a great and high mountain. As the eagle points out to Chaucer from a distance the site of Fame's House, so the angel shows to John the holy Jerusalem (xxi. 10).

2. Without doubt from Ovid (*Metam.*, XII, 39-41) Chaucer borrowed the detail that the house is situated midway between heaven, earth, and sea. But the vision vouchsafed to John is also of a city "coming down from God out of heaven" (xxi. 2).

3. On the northern side of the hill on which the palace of Fame stands are inscribed the names of folk that achieved great fame "of olde tyme." On the foundations of the wall around the Heavenly City are inscribed the names of the twelve apostles (xxi. 14).

4. On the top of the hill, outside the castle gate, Chaucer details how he heard the harp-playing of Orpheus, Orion, Chiron, Glascurion "and other harpers many oon." Behind them are "many thousand tymes twelve" making "lowde mynstralcies." (HF. 1201 ff.) On Mount Zion, in the Revelation, St. John describes how he "heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps." Round about are singers to the number of "one hundred and forty and four thousand" (xiv. 2, 3).

5. Fame's palace and the walls and gates around it are exquisitely carved of gold and precious stones. The walls, castle, and tower are of beryl; the gates are of gold; the hall of the palace is of gold, set

Ful of the fynest stones faire  
That men rede in the Lapidaire. (HF. 1351-2.)

It has been customary to trace the physical detail of the palace of Fame to the manifold palaces described in classical literature<sup>10</sup> their counterparts in mediaeval courts of love,<sup>11</sup> and descriptions of the otherworld,<sup>12</sup> or even in Byzantine romances.<sup>13</sup> None of these, however, has absolute claim as a direct source. As close a resemblance as any of these analogues has to the gorgeous dwelling place of Fame is borne by the glittering setting of the Holy City of Revelation. In the New Jerusalem the walls are of jasper, and the city gleams with the light of jasper; the gates are of pearl; the streets of the city are paved with gold. The foundations of the wall of the city are garnished "with all manner of precious

<sup>10</sup> Sypherd, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

<sup>11</sup> W. A. Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>12</sup> L. H. Loomis, *Modern Philology*, xxv (1927-8), 331 ff.; H. R. Patch, *PMLA*, xxxiii (1918), 601 ff.

<sup>13</sup> M. Schlauch, *Speculum*, vii (1932), 506 ff.

stones"—twelve are listed—such as indeed men might find in the *Lapidaire*.<sup>14</sup>

The numerous correspondences of idea and detail exhibited between the Revelation of St. John and the third book of the *House of Fame* suggest that not all the sources for this poem lie far afield. Like Dante and the author of *The Pearl* Chaucer found the material of the Revelation accessible and easily susceptible to treatment in a visionary poem. Characteristically he transformed the material and integrated it with details borrowed from diverse sources. The result is a confluence of literary models in which, to exalt a poetic monstrosity, Scripture and the classics are called upon indiscriminately. The mediaeval poet, it is evident, was no more averse than was John Milton at a later date, to mingling the sacred with the profane.

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#### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE 1663 EDITION OF *FAUSTUS*

The Tragical History / of the LIFE and DEATH of / Doctor Faustus. / Printed with New Additions as it is now Act'd. With several, / New Scenes, together with the Actors Names. / Written by CH. MAR. / [Woodcut of Faustus in his circle and a horned devil kneeling before him] / Printed for W. Gilbertson at the Bible without Newgate, 1663.

So runs the title page of the last of the seventeenth century editions of *Faustus*.<sup>1</sup> Very little attention has been given this

<sup>14</sup> Though it has been generally assumed that the *Lapidaire* mentioned by Chaucer is a French version of Marbode's work, the twelfth century Apocalyptic lapidary ascribed to Philippe le Thaumaturge dealing with the twelve stones of the New Jerusalem was also referred to as *Le Lapidaire*. P. Studer and J. Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* (Paris, 1924), pp. 260-261. The Apocalyptic stones are featured in numerous other lapidaries. Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 74-77, 93, 143, 146.

<sup>1</sup> The catch-phrase "With New Additions" first appeared on the title page of the edition of 1619; it doubtless referred to the extensive modifications which had already been introduced in the edition of 1616; cf. F. S. Boas, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (London, 1932), p. 4. For the "New Scenes" of 1663, see below. The woodcut of 1663 roughly ap-



text, although Tucker Brooke collates its readings and comments on the painstaking care with which "lines and phrases alluding to the deity, to eternal punishment, or to religious scepticism" were excised.<sup>2</sup> "It may well be," he concludes, "that the text was prepared for acting by strolling companies during the Commonwealth period. We know that *Mucedorus* and other plays were so acted in defiance of Puritan regulations, and such an origin would account for the extraordinary efforts of the editor to remove all moral grounds of offence." F. S. Boas apparently accepts this theory, adding that "Even Sir Henry Herbert, who had resumed after the Restoration his office as Censor, could scarcely have insisted on such sweeping 'reformations.'"<sup>3</sup>

We know, however, of two performances of *Faustus* in 1662; and in all likelihood the text of 1663, "as it is now Act'd," gives us the play as George Jolly's "Licensed Players" had staged it and as Pepys had seen it the year before its publication.<sup>4</sup> Puritan scruples can, in fact, hardly have been responsible for the major modification of the 1616-31 text, the deletion of the comic scenes at the Papal Court. And it is altogether unlikely that any of the changes were made by Herbert, who was unable to assert his authority effectively.<sup>5</sup>

proximates the one previously used, but the block is obviously new. This edition, like the 1616-31 editions, was printed "at the Bible without Newgate," though the copyright of the play had been transferred from John Wright, who owned it from 1609 to 1631, to W. Gilbertson. There is a copy in the Harvard College Library.

<sup>2</sup> C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford, 1910), p. 141. All references to the text of *Faustus* are based on Brooke's edition.

<sup>3</sup> Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 178-9, notes that Dr. Edward Browne saw a production of "Dr. Fostus" in that year at the "Cock Pit in Drewry Lane," given by the "Licens: Players," a term which almost certainly refers to Jolly's company inasmuch as Browne regularly designates Killigrew's company as "K. P." (the King's Players) and Davenant's company, the only other group, was at that time performing at the Duke's Theater. Pepys comments, as of May 26, 1662: "By water to my brother's, and thence to take my wife to the Red Bull, where we saw Dr. Faustus, but so wretchedly done that we were sick of it"; cf. Boas, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50. The performance at the Red Bull may also have been staged by Jolly's players.

<sup>5</sup> For an account of Herbert's futile struggle, see Frank Fowell and Frank Palmer, *Censorship in England* (London, 1913), pp. 86-93.

By the end of 1660 the real control of the theaters had already passed into the hands of three producers: Thomas Killigrew, Sir William Davenant, and George Jolly. In commissioning these men in his Royal Grants Charles II inveighed against immorality on the stage, advising Killigrew and Davenant that they "peruse all plays that have been formerly written, and . . . expunge all prophanesse and scurrility from the same before they be represented or acted,"<sup>6</sup> and informing George Jolly that "in regard of the extraordinary Licentiousness that has bin lately used in things of this nature, Our pleasure is that you doe not at any time hereafter cause to be acted or represented any Play, Enterlude or Opera containing any matter of prophanation, scurrility or obscenity."<sup>7</sup>

If it is difficult to take Charles seriously in this professed concern for public morality, we have, for what it is worth, the testimony of Davenant that the King had by 1663 accomplished his purposes:

If to reform the public Mirrour (where  
The Dead, to teach their living Race, appear)  
May to the People useful prove, even this  
(Which but the object of your leisure is  
To respite Care, and which successivelie  
Three of our last wise Monarchs wish'd to see,  
And in a Century could not be wrought)  
You, in Three years, have to perfection brought,  
If 'tis to height of Art and Virtue grown,  
The form and matter is as much your own  
As is your Tribute with your Image coin'd:  
You made the Art, the Virtue You enjoyn'd.<sup>8</sup>

And Richard Flecknoe, speaking in 1664 of the reformed theater, gives Charles the credit, "when after his happy Restauration he took such care to purge it from all vice and obscenity."<sup>9</sup>

The alterations in the 1663 text of *Faustus* may, then, most plausibly be explained as having been in accordance with the terms

<sup>6</sup> The Royal Grant to Thomas Killigrew, August 21, 1660; see Fowell and Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> The Royal Grant to George Jolly, December 24, 1660; see Hotson, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Poem to the King's Most Sacred Majesty* (1663), reprinted by Hotson, pp. 218-9.

<sup>9</sup> *A Short Discourse of the English Stage* (1664), reprinted by J. E. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1908), II, 91-6.

of the King's Grant to Jolly. Charles' known proclivity toward Rome was no doubt responsible for the removal of the slapstick scenes at the Vatican, and some of the other excisions also suggest a Catholic taste. For example, the unwillingness of the editor of 1663 to allow that Mephistophilis "saw the face of God" (line 313) may have been due to the Catholic doctrine that Lucifer and his angels were before their fall in a state of "probation."<sup>10</sup> The assertion that Lucifer had been "most dearly lov'd of God" (line 301) thus also met with disapproval; while the idea that God hates Faustus was repudiated (line 442), possibly because it suggests Predestinarianism. A passage which recalls the horrors of the Black Mass was struck out (lines 445-6). A passage which describes Faustus' Guardian Angel as a vehicle of Grace was deleted (lines 1291-4), perhaps with a view to the Catholic belief that the Church alone provides the Necessary Means.<sup>11</sup> And for a similar reason, probably, the advice of the Good Angel, "Reade reade the scriptures" (line 101), was dropped. With what Brooke calls "ridiculous prudery" almost all allusions to the Deity, the soul, the body and soul, blood, and damnation were expunged, and with them went such oaths as "zounds," "sbloud," and "Good Lord." Charles would seem to have been interpreted not only as desirous of keeping out of the theater doctrine incompatible with the Roman faith but also as wishing to avoid annoying all sensitive ears.

Who operated upon the text we cannot be sure, but it may have been the producer Jolly himself. There is some reason to think he was Catholic. In any event, he was traveling on the Continent with his company of actors during the years of the King's exile, and is on record as stating that he could not return to England while the wars lasted there.<sup>12</sup> In 1653 his players performed before the Court in Vienna, but he was later refused permission to play in Basle.<sup>13</sup> After the Restoration he immediately came back to

<sup>10</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 765, s. v. "Devil."

<sup>11</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 752, s. v. "Church."

<sup>12</sup> Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 169. On the other hand, his child was baptized in the Lutheran St. Sebald Church in Nuremberg; see Hotson, pp. 175-6.

<sup>13</sup> Hotson, p. 171. In 1650 English players, seeking permission to act in Vienna, made a point of the fact that three members of the troop were Catholic; see W. Creizenach, *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten* (Deutsche National-Literatur, XXIII, Berlin and Stuttgart, n. d.), p. xii.

England, no doubt ready to please the King by the most scrupulous attention to his preferences. In his Grant Charles, who may have seen Jolly's company at Frankfort, declared himself "well informed" of his "art and skill."<sup>14</sup>

Jolly's hand may be suspected in one of the "New Scenes," a passage of about 60 lines added to the comedy, at the Inn near Wittenberg, in which the Horse-courser recounts his dealings with Faustus.<sup>15</sup> Dick proposes the Hostess give the roisterers a song, and there follows a good deal of merriment while the beer cans are filled and the "Lanladie"<sup>16</sup> performs. She sings three times, and indeed her songs are the most prominent feature of the scene. We may assume that it was written to give her an opportunity to show her voice. Now Davenant, it is true, had by 1656 introduced theatrical entertainment "by Music" with women singing,<sup>17</sup> but two years earlier in Germany Jolly was already promising the Council of Basle to delight all who love plays "with his well-practised company, not only by means of good instructive stories, but also with repeated changes of expensive costume and a theater decorated in the Italian manner, with beautiful English music and skilful women."<sup>18</sup> Hotson calls him "the first English producer to use the modern stage."<sup>19</sup> He may have been instrumental in persuading Charles of the immorality of allowing men to play women's rôles.<sup>20</sup> It seems very likely, at any rate, that it was he who added songs for the Hostess in the production of *Faustus* in 1662.

<sup>14</sup> Hotson, pp. 172-3, 178.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Brooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-5.

<sup>16</sup> The earliest instances cited by the *NED.* of the use of "landlady" in the sense of "the hostess of an inn; the mistress of a lodging- or boarding-house" are dated 1654 and 1667, respectively.

<sup>17</sup> Hotson, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-50.

<sup>18</sup> Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 171. When Jolly returned to England he found, of course, that Davenant had already accustomed the public to similar innovations; but, as Hotson remarks, Jolly's "development of music, scenery, and the use of actresses preceded Davenant's opera by several years."

<sup>19</sup> Hotson, *loc. cit.*; cf. his summation of Jolly's achievement, p. 194. If it was Jolly's production of *Faustus* which Pepys described as "so wretchedly done that we were sick of it" (see above, note 4), Hotson's praise of Jolly's work may be excessive.

<sup>20</sup> For Charles' opinions on the matter, see his Grant to Davenant, January 15, 1663, in Hotson, pp. 217-8.

There is also the "New Scene" at the Court of the Sultan of Babylon, which supplants the scenes at the Papal Court in the earlier editions.<sup>21</sup> It is introduced by a curious patchwork of passages which, though printed as verse, seem to be chiefly prosy reductions from the 1616-31 texts.<sup>22</sup> Some lines are altered to fit the different situation,<sup>23</sup> and Mephistophilis' opening speech, which serves to locate the scene, is almost wholly new. The main body of the scene should have been printed as prose; no ingenuity could scan these lines. The type-setter must have been working from manuscript, perhaps in Jolly's hand; he allowed himself entire freedom in breaking up the prose before him. Here and elsewhere in the text he was guilty of innumerable petty errors, such as the botching of the spelling of proper names.<sup>24</sup>

The scene really gets under way with the "Welcome, Mephistophilis" of the Sultan Solomaine, which is a patent blunder for "Welcome, Mustapha," since the Sultan is addressing the Bashaw of that name.<sup>25</sup> We have forthwith a strange extension of the action of the *Jew of Malta*. Mustapha and Caleph report (prematurely) the victory of the Sultan's forces at Malta through the Jew's aid. Some lines are plagiarized from the text of the *Jew*,<sup>26</sup> and there are some notable inaccuracies.<sup>27</sup> Jolly must have in-

<sup>21</sup> Brooke, pp. 198-202.

<sup>22</sup> Lines 803-812 (p. 198) derive from lines 803-5 (p. 172) and lines 839-45 (p. 173); lines 822-3 (p. 198), from lines 864-5 (p. 203); lines 824-40 (p. 198) from lines 868-88 (p. 203); lines 842-61 (pp. 198-9) from lines 1011-30 (pp. 206-7).

<sup>23</sup> E. g., "Turk" (line 831, p. 198) is substituted for "Pope" (line 875, p. 203); "Babylon" (line 840, p. 198) for "Rome" (line 888, p. 203); "Bashawes" (line 860, p. 199) for "Friars" (line 1028, p. 207).

<sup>24</sup> E. g., "Tyre" (line 805, p. 198) for "Trier"; "Oenus" (line 638, p. 166) for "Enons."

<sup>25</sup> Line 862, p. 199. Solyman and Mustapha are important characters in the celebrated *Siege of Rhodes* (1656), and probably Jolly borrowed the names from that source, though they are elsewhere paired in story and drama.

<sup>26</sup> E. g., line 877 (p. 199) derives from line 236 (p. 247); lines 877-8 (p. 199) derive from lines 247-8 (p. 247); line 880 (p. 199) derives from line 258 (p. 248); line 881 (p. 199) from line 302 (p. 249). References to the *Jew* are based on Brooke's edition.

<sup>27</sup> E. g., "months" (line 877, p. 199) for "years" (line 236, p. 247); "Martine Belbosco" (line 884, p. 199) for "Martin del Bosco" (line 724, p. 260).

tended something like dramatic irony, for the *Jew* ends, of course, with the destruction of the forces of Selim-Calymath and his imprisonment as a guarantee of Malta's freedom. If the audience was unfamiliar with the play, Jolly's introduction of such material would have been almost pointless. We note that the tricks played by Faustus when the Empress joins the company for the celebration, are not very different from those employed at the Pope's Court; and they were no doubt inspired by them.

We have no positive information that the *Jew* was at any time a part of Jolly's repertoire, but *Faustus* and the *Jew* were sometimes paired on the Continent.<sup>28</sup> Jolly may have reintroduced both plays in England on the Restoration stage. It seems likely, at all events, that the 1663 edition of *Faustus* is his text, prepared in deference to the terms of his Grant from the King.

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THE LADDER OF LECHERY, *THE FAERIE QUEENE*,  
III, i, 45

As Britomart, the knight of Chastity, is riding on her adventures, she encounters six knights. She learns that they serve one lady, and that all knights they encounter must swear to serve her or combat with them. Britomart chooses the combat, and overcomes the six with ease. She then accompanies them to Castle Joyous, the abode of Malecasta, the Lady of Delight. Britomart finds that life in the castle is wholly given over to "lascivious desport," presided over by Malecasta, the allegory of Unchastity. The six knights who have been conquered, the champions of Unchastity, are called, in order, Gardante, Parlante, Jocante, Basciante, Bacchante, and Noctante. These names may be translated as Looking, Speaking, Toying, Kissing, Revelling, and Spending the Night. "To faire Britomart they all but shadows beene," as of little moment to Chastity.<sup>1</sup> No adequate explanation of them seems to have been given.

<sup>28</sup> Both plays were given in Dresden in 1626, and in Prague in 1651; see Creizenach, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>1</sup> Later in the narrative the first knight, Gardante, does wound Britomart slightly, and provokes a violent reaction (st. 65). This perhaps signifies by allegory that only the first stage of lasciviousness can affect Chastity, and that only to rouse resistance.



A similar but shorter series occurs in the *Persones Tale* of Chaucer; it has in it much of Spenser's moral intention:

This is that other hand of the devel, with fyve fingres, to cacche the peple to his vileinye. The first finger is the fool lookinge of the fool womman and of the fool man, that sleeth, right as the basilicock sleeth folk by the venom of his sighte; for the coveitise of eyen foloweth the coveitise of the herte. The seconde finger is the vileyns touchinge in wikkede manere; and therfore seith Salomon, that who-so toucheth and handleth a womman, he fareth lyk him that handleth the scorpion that stingeth and sodeynly sleeth thurgh his envenyminge. . . . The thridde, is foule wordes, that fareth lyk fyr, that right anon brenneth the herte. The fourthe finger is the kissinge; and trewely he were a greet fool that wolde kisse the mouth of a brenninge ovene or of a fourneys. . . . The fifthe finger of the develes hand is the stinkinge dede of Lecherie. Certes, . . . with hise fyve fyngrs of Lecherie [the feend] gripeth [man] by the reynes, for to throwen him in-to the fourneys of helle (852-62).

Something akin to this is to be found in one of the English versions of the *Secretum Secretorum*, made in 1422 by James Yonge, and called the *Governance of Princes*. The king is advised as follows:

In vyue thyngis ye shal kepe you fro lechurye,  
whyche ben provid by this two versis:

Colloquium, visus, contactus, basia, risus  
Sunt fomites<sup>2</sup> veneris, hec fuge, salvus eris.  
Speche, syght, touchyng, kyssyng, laghyng,  
These byth the norchynges of lechurie; enchu  
ham, and thow shalte be sawid.<sup>3</sup>

Here is a series of acts leading toward lechery somewhat like that of Spenser, though in a less logical order. Likewise in a mediaeval students' song occurs the verse:

Tantum volo ludere,  
tantum contemplari,  
presens volo tangere,  
tandem osculari,  
quintum, quod est agere,  
nolo suspicari.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Fomites* are pieces of kindling wood or tinder. Cf. *F. Q.* 3. 1. 50. 2: "a cole to kindle fleshly flames."

<sup>3</sup> E. E. T. S. (London, 1898), pp. 138-9. Cf. *Paradise Lost* 10. 992-4:

"But if thou judge it hard and difficult,  
Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain  
From Love's due Rites, Nuptial embraces sweet!"

<sup>4</sup> *Carmina Burana* (Stuttgart, 1847), p. 151.

Here the arrangement in an ascending series is still clearer. Possibly the idea is derived from Lucian's

It is not enough for the lover to see the loved one sitting near him and speaking, but as though Love had made a ladder of voluptuousness, first he has put the rung of sight, that the lover may see; and if he sees, then he will proceed to touch; and then if he touches lightly with his fingertips feelings of delight run over his whole body. If he easily attains this, he essays his third attempt, that of kissing; he is not too forward at once, but approaches the lips a little with his lips, which he draws back before they fully touch, without leaving a trace of his true purpose. After this he goes on as he can to more eager caresses, and even opens his mouth a little. He leaves neither of his hands idle; visible embraces that do not disturb the clothing bring pleasure, or his right hand softly slipped into the bosom strokes breasts naturally little rounded, and touches evenly all parts of the smooth belly, and after that the early down of the flower of Hebe.—But

Why is it needful for me to tell what is best hidden? \*

That this passage ever came under Spenser's eye cannot be asserted; he quotes Lucian in the *View*,<sup>6</sup> and, in jest, indicated a desire to have Gabriel Harvey's edition of Lucian in four volumes.<sup>7</sup> The latter often refers to Lucian in his *Marginalia*.

But whether Spenser is adapting a passage from Lucian or not, it is evident that his six knights form a series that may be called *scalae voluptatis*. Beginning with the eye, so often associated with love by mediaeval writers, the course of desire goes along an ascending scale to its culmination. Lucian's concept would, it seems, have been acceptable to the Renaissance, though I have found no reference to it before one in the amplified edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* published in 1613.<sup>8</sup> Spenser may have devised for himself the ascending scale of lechery. But whatever the source of that idea, the personal allegory of the six knights results from the chivalric character of his poem joined with his desire to make the moral instruction it conveys as vivid as possible. He could doubtless have extended it to make it more impressive in itself, but that

\* Lucian, *Amores*, 53. The last line is from Euripides, *Orestes*, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Globe ed., p. 634. Spenser is not accurate; he speaks of an oath by fire and sword, but the original has wind and sword.

<sup>7</sup> G. C. Moore Smith, *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon, 1913), p. 23. The edition of the complete works of Lucian, with a Latin translation, published at Basel in 1563, is in four volumes.

<sup>8</sup> Part 2, p. 120.

would have meant replanning the poem to take the ladder of lechery from the subordinate place where he was satisfied to leave it.

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### SIR THOMAS ELYOT AGAINST POETRY

Elyot's defence of poetry in *The Governour* (1531) has been discussed at some length.<sup>1</sup> No attention seems to have been given, however, to the apparent "retraction" in *The Defence of Good Women*, first published in 1540, in which Elyot refutes, in one-two-three order, several of the most important arguments set forth in the *Governour* chapter. The passage is:

The authors whom ye so moche do set by, for the more part were poetes, which sort of persōs among the latines & grekes were neuer had but in smal reputatiō. For I could neuer rede that in any weale publike of notable memory, Poetes were called to any honorable place, office, or dignite. Plato out of the publike weale whiche he had deuysed, wolde haue all poetes vtterly excluded. Tulli . . . wolde not haue in his publyke weale any poetes admitted. The cause why they were soo lyttell esteemed was, for as moche as the more parte of theyr inuencions consysted in leasynges, or in sterynge vp of wanton appetytes, or in pouryng oute, in raylynge, theyr poyson of malyce. For with theyr owne goddes and goddeses were they so malaparte, that with theyr aduoutries they fylled great volumes.<sup>2</sup>

The speaker of this attack is Candidus, who defends good women against the "barkynge" of the "curre" Caninius. Since the purpose of the dialogue is to defend women, Candidus, I judge,

<sup>1</sup> See particularly Theodore Stenberg, "Sir Thomas Elyot's Defense of the Poets," University of Texas *Studies in English*, No. 6 (1926), 121-45; D. T. Starnes, "Notes on Elyot's *The Governour*," *RES.*, III (1927), 37-46.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Defence of Good Women*, ed. Edwin Johnston Howard (Oxford, Ohio, 1940), pp. 13-14. On page ix of this edition occurs a misstatement: "This present edition is the third, the work not having been printed since 1545 until now." Mr. Howard's edition is actually the fifth to my knowledge. Foster Watson published a slightly abridged version in his *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women* (New York, 1911), pp. 211-39; and Alois Brandl edited the complete *Defence* in the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vol. LI. Watson's and Brandl's editions are from the 1545, or 2nd, edition,

may be taken as Elyot himself. He has completely backtracked from his position in *The Governour*, where he says:

. . . the name of a poete, wherat nowe, (specially in this realme,) men haue suche indignation, that they use onely poetes and poetry in the contempte of eloquence, was in auncient tyme in hygh estimation: in so moche that all wysdome was supposed to be therein included . . . wherby men from their childhode were brought to the raison howe to lyue well . . . as it shall be manifest to them that shal be so fortunate to rede the noble warkes of Plato and Aristotle, wherein he shall fynde the autoritie of poetes frequently alleged. . . .

But sens we be nowe occupied in the defence of Poetes, it shall nat be incongruent to our mater to shewe what profite may be taken from the diligent reding of auncient poetes, contrary to the false opinion, that nowe rayneth, of them that suppose that in warkes of poetes is contayned nothyng but baudry, (suche is their foule worde of reproche,) and unprofitable leasinges.<sup>3</sup>

Lest the impression be made that Elyot was a sort of Tudor Jekyll-and-Hyde, a combination of Sidney and Gosson, it is only fair to add that in reply to Caninius' question as to why he sets "soo lyttell by poetes and poetry," Candidus admits that "if they make verses conteynynge quicke sentences, voyd of rybauldry, or in commendation of vertue, some praty allegory, or do set forthe any notable story, than do I set by thē as they be well worthy."<sup>4</sup>

I am not certain the attack indicates that Elyot had changed his attitude toward poetry. In both attack and defence Elyot uses very conventional arguments;<sup>5</sup> and I am inclined to think that in both Elyot was writing, not from any deep-seated love or hatred for poetry, but simply as his subject matter required. The apology for poetry was not new to the courtesy book.<sup>6</sup> As for the attack in *The Defence of Good Women*, the fact that Elyot felt it necessary to attack poetry proves—though such proof, of course, is

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, ed. H. H. S. Croft (London, 1883), I, 120-23.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Elyot, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>5</sup> All of Elyot's objections, for example, are contained in the fourth chapter of Agrippa's *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Omnium Scientiarum et Artium*.

<sup>6</sup> Besides the conversations on poetry in Castiglione, note the defence of poetry in Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini's *De Liberorum Educatione* (in W. W. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 149).

hardly needed—that poets had said bad things about women. The appearance, in the writings of one man, of a defence of poetry and an attack on poetry surely does not point toward great sincerity in either instance. Rather it implies, I feel, that the author was following a convention.

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### CHAPMAN AND PHAER

A book that probably should be added to the known reading of George Chapman is Thomas Phaer's translation of the first ten books of the *Aeneid* (1558-1562). Chapman was likely to reveal his reading either by direct, and usually disputatious, reference, or by unacknowledged borrowing; and although I find no evidence that he had so much as looked at his one English predecessor in the Homeric field, Arthur Hall, who in 1581 had brought out a miserable translation from Salel's French of the first ten books of the *Iliad*, I do see signs of his knowing Phaer's Virgil. This is not to say, either, that he had necessarily read much of the translation itself, but that he had at least looked over the book and read Phaer's critical Conclusion. Although most of the material in Chapman's prefaces and glosses is modelled in brief after that of the French commentator Spondanus (1583), there are echoes from Phaer.

Chapman never mentions Phaer by name, but a telltale phrase crept into print at the end of the Twelfth Booke of his *Odysseys*. At that point appear the mysterious words, "Opus novem dierum," a phrase which has puzzled editors of Chapman's Homer and which caused Coleridge to write in his copy that, if Chapman had translated the twelve books in nine days, it would have been a "nine day's wonder." The wonder is, I believe, dissipated by a look at Phaer's *Aeneid*. It was a habit of Phaer to note at the end of each book of the *Aeneid* the date on which he finished translating it, and the number of days it had taken him. This practice was kept up by Thomas Twynne, who continued the work. Thus, we can compose from Phaer's Virgil the following amusing schedule.

- Book I. Opus II dierum.  
 II. Opus viginti dierum.  
 III. Opus viginti dierum.  
 IV. Opus Quindecim dierum.  
 V. Opus xxiiij dierum.  
 VI. Opus triginta dierum.  
 VII. Opus xij dierum.  
 VIII. Opus xl dierum per interualla.  
 IX. Opus 30. dierum.  
 X. Inchoatum per Thomam Phaer, finitum Londini per Thomam Twynum, 23 Maij. 1573. Opus 7 dierum per interualla.

By comparison, it looks very much as if it had taken Chapman nine days to translate the twelfth book of the *Odyssey*, not all twelve books, and that he jotted down the phrase in emulation of Phaer. The Douce copy of the very rare *Odysseys* (twelve books, n. d., 1614) bears Chapman's autograph inscription to Sir Henry Fanshawe, and in this copy the "Opus novem dierum" is heavily inked out: Chapman would seem heartily to have disclaimed the misleading boast which had crept into print. The words appear, however, in all copies.

Chapman indeed seems to have known Phaer from the outset of his Homeric ventures, as early as 1598, if not before. In that year were printed the first *Seauen Bookes of the Iliades*, as well as the passage, *Achilles Shield*. Phaer too had started with seven books, and the apologies of the older translator rang in Chapman's memory as he started to bring out his translation piecemeal. This is only natural, for Virgil, the rival epic poet, was first on the English scene; he too had been turned into fourteeners; and the champion of Homer would naturally consult the English Virgil which he must outdo if he was to advance Homer's claims to their rightful place. (It was not particularly difficult to write better than Phaer.)

The echoes are neither verbal nor tonal: Phaer was diffident about his work, Chapman, self-assured. They are reminiscences of the actual matter contained in Phaer's Conclusion, which was printed with the seven books of 1558 and retained in subsequent editions. (1) Phaer starts with a defense of his mother tongue, the first suggestion of such a defense among all the sixteenth century translators.<sup>1</sup> Chapman embarks on such a defense in both

<sup>1</sup> H. B. Lathrop, *Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477-1620*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, xxxv (Madison, 1933), p. 108.



the preface and the dedication to *Achilles Shield*, and carried the argument further when he brought out the first twelve books of the *Iliads* in 1609. (2) Phaer, like Chapman, says he will go on with his work if encouraged. (3) Phaer follows Horace in his theory of translation and says he had to "expound" somewhat. Chapman makes the same apology in the prefaces to the *Seauen Bookes* (1598) and the complete *Iliads* (1611), and, like Phaer, (4) hopes that he will be pardoned for what in his first labors may be unnecessarily paraphrastic. (5) They both apologize on the grounds of haste for not revising all their work: Chapman tells us that he spent only fifteen weeks on his last twelve books (Preface, 1611); Phaer took two hundred and two days for nine books. (6) In publishing their first seven books, they both promise to revise their work in the next edition, and (7) both conclude by begging the reader to correct the printer's errors. There are too many points in common between Chapman's several prefaces and dedications and Phaer's one short Conclusion to allow the assumption that Chapman worked in ignorance of his epic predecessor.

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#### JACQUES' "SEVEN AGES" AND PEDRO MEXIA

A short time ago, Professor Draper published a note on Shakespeare's seven divisions of life in which he pointed out that this was an unusual number and suggested that *Batman uppon Bartolome's* section on this subject was the source.<sup>1</sup> Professor Gilbert replied that another source might be Censorinus' *De Die Natali Liber* and that the "seven ages" were probably more conventional than Professor Draper would have us believe.<sup>2</sup> To this discussion I should like to add my mite.

In 1542 Pedro Mexia published a *lectio* to which he gave the title *Silva de varia lecion*. There were various editions of this book in Spain, and in 1552 Claude Gruget translated it into French with the title *Les Diverses leçons de Pierre Messis*. The French

<sup>1</sup> "Jacques 'Seven Ages' and Bartholomaeus Anglicus," *MLN.*, LIV (1939), 273-276.

<sup>2</sup> "Jacques' 'Seven Ages' and Censorinus," *MLN.*, LV (1940), 103-105.

translation was extraordinarily popular and was reprinted in 1556, 1569, 1572, 1577, 1583, 1584, 1592, 1604, 1609, 1610, 1616, and 1643. It inspired French scholars to such an extent that when Antoine du Verdier brought out his *Les Diverses Leçons* in 1577, he described them as "suivans celles de Pierre Messie." Mexia's book was obviously popular and easy to be had.

Chapter forty of Mexia's *lectio* discusses the ages of man; I cite the important passages from the French translation which would be best known to Englishmen.

Par la commune diuision des Astrologues Arabes, Caldees, Grecs & Latins; & particulierement de Procle auteur Grec, Ptolomee, & Alibeu Raselle, la vie humaine est diuisee en sept aages. . . . Le premier aage se nomme Enfance, contenant l'espace de quatre ans . . . duquel le corps est humide, delicate, tendre, foible, mobile . . . ses membres pour un bien petit de trauail s'afoiblissent: & croissent leurs corps en peu de temps & à veuë d'oeil. Le second aage dure dix ans, en sorte qu'il vient iusques à quatorze, lequel les Latins ont nommé *Pueritia*, qui donne fin à l'enfance, & commencement à l'adolescence. . . . Car lors les ieunes enfans font quelque principe de la monstre de leurs esprits, soit en lisant, escrivant, ou chantant: & sont lors traictables & dociles, toutesfois legers en leurs propos, inconstans & muables. Le tiers aage est de huict ans, nommé par les anciens, Adolescence, & se continue depuis quatorze iusques a vingtdeux accomplis. . . . Car l'homme alors commence à estre prompt par la nature, habile, & puissant pour engendrer: estant enclin à l'amour & aux dames, adonné à la musique, au ieu aux voluptez, banquets, & plaisirs mondains. . . . Le quatrieme aage se poursuit iusques à ce que l'homme ait quarante deux ans accomplis, & s'apelle Ieunesse, le cours de laquelle dure dix neuf ans. . . . Semblablement cest aage est le prince de tous les autres, & fleur de la vie, durant laquelle les sentimens & puissances du corps & de l'esprit tiennent, & aquierent leur entiere force: & lors estant l'homme bien entendu, & hardi, fait conoistre & eslire le bien: il desire & pourchasse richesses, d'estre excellent, & renommé, tousiours enclin à bien faire. . . . Le cinquieme aage nommé Viril, a quinze ans de duree: par ainsi va sa poursuite iusques à l'an cinquantesixieme . . . inclinant les hommes à l'avarice, & les rendant coleres, maladifs, temperez au boire & manger, & constans en leurs faits. Puis en aioustant douze a cinquantesix, vous trouuerez soixantehuict ans, qui font la fin du sixieme aage, nommé Vieillesse. . . . Les hommes en ce temps font toutes oeuvres saintes, aiment la temperance & la charité, apètent l'honneur acompagné de louange: sont honnestes, & craignans honte & deshonneur. Le septiesme & dernier des sept aages, à este limité depuis soixantehuict, iusques à quatre vingts & huict, & peu de gens se treuent qui y paruiennent. Il se nomme Caduc & Decrepit. . . . Il afoiblit leur memoire & leur force, puis les charge d'ennuis, longues tristesses, maladies langoureuuses. . . . Et si quelqu'un

se trouue qui parviene au dessus de cest aage . . . vous conoistrez qu'il deuiendra & retournera comme en enfance.<sup>3</sup>

Could Shakespeare have known Mexia's book? Certain chapters in this book which deal with the Turks, Mahomet, and Tamburlaine furnished Marlowe with source material and Shakespeare may have known this. Then, too, in 1613 William Jaggard published Thomas Milles' *The Treasure of Auncient and Moderne Times*, which is a great compendium of diverse learning translated from Mexia, Du Verdier, Sansovino, and others. The fifteenth chapter of the fourth book of Milles' *Treasure* is an abridgement of Mexia's chapter on the "seven ages." Now we know that this book was slow to appear. In his dedication to Sir Thomas Brudenell, Milles apologizes for his own delay; later Milles laments a further delay in publication, for Jaggard's youthful indiscretions cost him his sight at about this time. There is no entry for the *Treasure* in Arber's *Transcript*; so we do not know when the manuscript was ready. It might go back to the turn of the century in which case Shakespeare might have heard of Mexia through Jaggard or Milles. This is, however, only a conjecture; the important thing is that there is another source, and a very popular source, for Jacques' "seven ages."

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### MACDUFF, NOT MACBETH

Mr. Hazelton Spencer, in his *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare* (p. 336), speaks of *Macbeth* as a "tragedy of a normal man who becomes a criminal." Of the thane of Glamis himself he says, "Even after he embarks on his career of crime, he is no casehardened brute," and he cites as his evidence:

I cannot strike at wretched kerns, whose arms  
Are hir'd to bear their staves.

However, these lines (v, vii, 17-18) are not said by Macbeth

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* (Lyons, 1592), pp. 167-170; the rest of the chapter treats of the various stages of life according to Pythagoras, Marcus Varro, Hippocrates, Solon, Saint Isidore, Horace, Aristotle, Avicenna, and Servius Tullius. Censorinus and Galen are also mentioned.

but by Macduff, while he searches for Macbeth before the castle at Dunsinane. Therefore they cannot be used as evidence of mercy in Macbeth's character, of merely royal condescension, or of any other redeeming quality.

We are left the tyrant (v, vii, 14), the fatalist (v, v, 48-51; v, viii, 17-18), the remorseless husband (v, v, 17-28), the anti-social bully (v, iii, 11-19), the impotent sovereign (v, ii, 14-22), the ruthless oppressor (iv, i, 150-54), the suspicious eavesdropper (iii, iv, 131-32), the near-lunatic (iii, iv, 93-96), the blackest of hypocrites (iii, ii, 30-35; iii, i, 30-34), and the most cold-blooded of murderers (iii, ii, 54).

It would seem then that the Macbeth of the last three acts—from the death of Duncan to the end—is wholly bad, and that, if Shakespeare, as well as Aristotle, had discovered "that the ruin of a complete villain does not awaken tragic emotions," as Professor Douglas Bush points out in his notes on *Macbeth* (p. 294), we must look entirely to the first of the play for any alleviatory qualities in the protagonist's character.

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The error which Mr. Lynch points out was noticed immediately after completion of the first printing and the plate was corrected, that is, the quotation from Macduff's speech was deleted. The conclusion, however, was allowed to stand. Macbeth is not another Richard III. Even after he embarks (I, vii, 79-80) on his career of crime, he is not completely callous. That may not make him any better, but it encourages the audience to suffer with him. His immediate remorse after the murder of Duncan and the repeated glimpses of his mental anguish throughout the remainder of the play are sufficient evidence that Macbeth is not insensible. Savage as are his orders for the extermination of Macduff's family, he can still speak (iv, i, 152) of "unfortunate" souls—there is nothing ironical or gloating about that adjective. The passage beginning "I have liv'd long enough" (v, iii, 22-28) is not, in its awareness of a life's failure, the speech of a casehardened brute; and "poor heart" in its last line may be compared with "unfortunate souls." I am obliged to Mr. Lynch for his commentary; I am in entire agreement with him on the wickedness of that bad man Macbeth; but I do not think Macbeth's wickedness is the main point.

H. S.

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THE ELIZABETHAN TRANSLATION OF VEGETIUS'  
*DE RE MILITARI*

The Elizabethan era saw the publication of over sixty books on the art of war and martial discipline. Although the details in many of these works were borrowed from foreign critics, only thirteen were actual translations from continental sources, and but two of these thirteen were from the ancient technical writers. John Sadler published one of them under the title *The Foure bookes of Flavius Vegetius Renatus* (1572). One is inclined to ask what there was about *De re militari*, composed in the fourth century A. D., that should recommend it to the English reader of the sixteenth century. Apparently John Sadler saw in it a criticism of martial affairs that could be accurately applied to the English military situation. A great evil hampered the adequacy of the Elizabethan army. Rogues were mustered into the service, incompetently trained, and placed under the command of officers who, having obtained their positions by flattery, quite often knew nothing of the art of war. It is no wonder that Sadler should believe that *De re militari* contained a message for Englishmen, for Vegetius condemned the very evils which had plagued Tudor armies for over half a century.<sup>1</sup>

First of all, Vegetius asserted that "An Army raised without proper Regard to the Choice of its Recruits, was never yet made good by Length of Time," and he placed the blame for a succession of martial defeats upon the shoulders of negligent and careless muster-masters. Secondly, he stated that discipline and military

<sup>1</sup> For biting indictments of these evils, see Barnabe Rich, "A Right Excelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue betweene Mercvry and an English Souldier," quoted in "The Honestee of This Age," *Percy Society*, xi (1844), vii; Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres* (1598), pp. 7, 23; letter from Thomas Digges, Muster-Master General in the Low Countries, to Walsingham, *Calendar of State Papers*, Foreign Series, xx, 278; Thomas Digges, *Englands Defence* (London, 1680), p. 5; Thomas and Dudley Digges, *Foure Paradoxes* (London, 1604), p. 27; *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Southampton, 1921), pp. 123-127; Sir Henry Knyvett, *The Defence of the Realme* (Oxford, 1906), pp. 34, 61; even Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse* (Westminster, 1895), p. 34, and *A Larvm for London* (Malone Society Reprints, 1913), lines 47-54.

training were of paramount importance in the creation of an efficient fighting force, maintaining that the old Roman legions owed their successes, not to "Numbers or mere Courage," but to "an unwearied Cultivation of the . . . Arts of War." Finally, he criticized the obtaining of positions by officers through "Interest and Favor," with the resulting decline in the "Strength and Substance" of the army. Commands, he said, should go to soldiers as "the Recompences of Merit and long Service."<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, Vegetius, although an ancient technical writer who condemned practices which made the Roman army of his day far inferior to the legions of old, coincidentally censured three of the major imperfections in the Elizabethan army. John Sadler, aware of this coincidence, translated and published *De re militari* as a guide and warning to his queen and council, no doubt hoping that, through his efforts, the recruiting, training, and disciplining of troops would in some measure be improved.

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#### GIL POLO, DESPORTES, AND LYLY'S "CUPID AND MY CAMPASPE"

R. W. Bond<sup>1</sup> recognized as the original of "Cupid and my Campaspe" the sonnet "Vn iour l'aueugle Amour, Diane, & ma Maitresse," in Desportes' *Diane*.<sup>2</sup> Bond undoubtedly suspected the originality of any of Desportes' poems, but did not, apparently, recognize the source of Desportes' archery contest. I have found that source in the last poem, a sonnet, in Gaspar Gil Polo's *La Diana enamorada*, the sonnet "Probaron en el campo su destreza."<sup>3</sup> Bartholomew Yong, in his translation of the three parts of the *Diana*, translated the sonnet with slightly less variation from the Spanish than one finds in Desportes's version:

<sup>2</sup> Lieut. John Clark, *Military Institutions of Vegetius* (London, 1767), pp. 5-6, 15, 51-2.

<sup>1</sup> "Lyly's Songs," *RES.*, vi (1930), 296. I tacitly accept Bond's contention that Lyly wrote the song for the play in which it appears. Cf. Bond's *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (1902), II, 549.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Œuvres de Phillippe Desportes* (Lyons, 1606), Livre I, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles*, VII, 398.



*Diana, Loue, and my faire Shepherdesse,*  
 Did in the field their chieftest cunning trie,  
 By shooting arrowes at a tree neere by,  
 Whose barke a painted hart did there expresse:  
*Diana* stakes her beautie mercillesse,  
*Cupid* his bowe, *Argia* her libertie:  
 Who shewed in her shot a quicker eie,  
 A better grace, more courage, and successe:  
 And so did she *Dianas* beautie win,  
 And *Cupids* weapons, by which conquer'd prize  
 So faire and cruell she hath euer bin,  
 That her sweete figure from my wearied eies,  
 And from my painfull hart her cruell bowe  
 Haue stolne my life and freedome long agoe.<sup>4</sup>

If we allow that the translation of the *Diana* was completed in 1583 as Yong claimed, and that the manuscript was in circulation soon after, any of the three versions might have served as Lyly's inspiration. Bond's reference to the "French grace" of Lyly's song is not amiss; but the comparison, at his request, of Desportes' last line, "Ainsi sur moy chetif tombe toute la perte," with Lyly's final couplet does not yield any verbal echoes to prove that the French, and not the Spanish or the English, is the "original." The ending of the Spanish sonnet is as close a parallel. Line 9 of the French, beginning "Las! Madame gaigna," is closer than anything in the other versions to Lyly's curt phrases "Cupid paid; Loses them too; She paid." But Lyly's song, with conceit growing gracefully out of conceit, took no more than a hint from any original.

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### JOHN DONNE'S "LITTLE RAG"

The motto, "Antes muerto que mudado," borrowed with a change of gender from Montemayor, and used on Will. Marshall's engraving, which appears as frontispiece in Donne's *Poems* (1635), has been taken as evidence that Donne knew the *Diana* of Montemayor. Consequently, when Donne wrote to Sir Robert Ker, I beginne to bee past hope of dying: And I feele that a little ragge of *Monte Magor*, which I read last time I was in your Chamber, hath wrought

<sup>4</sup> *Diana* (1598), p. 495.

prophetically upon mee, which is, that Death came so fast towards mee, that the over-joy of that recovered mee,<sup>1</sup>

nothing more logical than to seek the source of the allusion in the *Diana*. There Mr. T. E. Terrill found a passage to his satisfaction:

amor que lastimandome  
Jamás canso, no impide el acordarseme  
De tanto mal, y muero en acordandome.  
Mire a Diana, y vi luego abreviarseme;  
El plazer y contento, en solo viendola,  
Y a mi pesar la vida vi alargarseme.

Love which tormenting me  
Never took rest, hinders me not the remembering  
Such a great sickness, I die in recalling it.  
I looked at Diana, and saw then my cutting short;  
Contentment and pleasure was only in seeing it,  
And to my grief then, I saw life lengthening.<sup>2</sup>

But the case for the parallel, I have long felt, is shaky, for the reason that nothing in the Spanish but the word *muero* and the phrase *la vida vi alargarseme* is even echoed by Donne. Terrill's translation of lines 4-6 is in error and is arbitrary in its punctuation; Bartholomew Yong gave a substantially correct version:

*Diane* I sawe, but straight my ioy was fading me,  
When to my onely sight she was opposing her:  
And (to my greefe) I saw long life inuading me.<sup>3</sup>

The correct reading of *her* for *it* in line 5 emphasizes the dissimilarity of context between the out-and-out love complaint and the letter; and Donne quite clearly implies a similar context.

A bit of verse which is almost translated by Donne's clause, "that Death came so fast towards me, that the over-joy of that recovered mee," does come to hand in Montemayor, not in his *Diana*, but in his *Cancionero*:

Ven muerte tan escondida,  
que no te sienta venir,  
porque el plazer de morir,  
no me torne a dar la vida.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, 1651, p. 299. Gosse, *Life and Letters* (1899), II, 15, cited the passage as proof of Donne's fondness for Montemayor, but made no attempt to locate the passage alluded to.

<sup>2</sup> "A Note on Donne's Early Reading," *MLN.*, XLIII (1928), 318-319. The translation is Terrill's.

<sup>3</sup> *Diana* (1598), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *El Cancionero del poeta George de Montemayor*, Sociedad de bibliófilos

Come, death, ere step or sound I hear,  
 Unknown the hour, unfelt the pain;  
 Lest the wild joy to feel thee near,  
 Should thrill me back to life again.

This well-known quatrain does fit the Donne conceit. It is not, however, Montemayor's (as Donne presumably thought), but the first four lines of El Comendador Escrivá's "Canción," printed in the *Cancionero general de Hernando del Castillo*,<sup>5</sup> upon which Montemayor wrote a *glosa*. The last five lines of the *glosa* may have stuck, beside the quatrain, in Donne's mind as he wrote the letter—or may indeed have prompted the allusion:

pues, muerte, a quien ofrecida  
 tengo esta vida cansada  
 ven a mí tan escondida,  
 que el plazer de tu llegada,  
 no me torne a dar la vida.<sup>6</sup>

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## DONNE AND THE BEZOAR

That John Donne knew something about the philosophies of the several medical systems of his day is obvious to most readers. His knowledge of medicine, like his knowledge of astronomy, optics, and psychology, is general but up-to-date. In the seventh meditation of the *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions*, Donne compares his lot in sickness with others less fortunate than he; to these

españoles (Madrid, 1932), p. 396. The translation, by Churton Collins, is cited by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *History of Spanish Literature* (1926), p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. La sociedad de bibliófilos españoles (Madrid, 1882), I, 517, no. 392. The quatrain was as well known as a nursery rime. St. Teresa delighted in it; Cervantes cited it in *Don Quixote* (II, 38); Lope de Vega wrote a *glosa* on it, *Rimas sacras* (1614); Calderón used it in two plays, *El mayor monstruo los celos* (III, xi), and *Las manos blancas no ofenden* (II, iii). All agree with Montemayor in their reading of lines 2 and 3 (the *Cancionero general* reads "que no te sienta conmigo / porqu'el gozo de contigo"). Between them Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*loc. cit.*) and Julio Cejador y Frauca (*Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana* (Madrid, 1915), I, 447) mentioned all these, but apparently neither scholar knew Montemayor's *glosa*.

<sup>6</sup> Montemayor, *Cancionero*, p. 397.

miserable ones, he says, "the refuse of our servants (would be) bezoar enough."<sup>1</sup> The *NED* describes "bezoar" as an antidote against poison, and one knows that among the superstitious of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance this queer calcification was employed as a magical remedy against venoms.<sup>2</sup> Donne's allusion suggests, however, a wider meaning; and Professors Coffin and Witherspoon sense this when they write: "Here some rare and expensive drug is meant which may have been a sort of laxative."<sup>3</sup>

The problem of Donne's meaning is solved by turning to two of the most authoritative lapidaries of his day: Andreas Bassius' *De Gemmis et Lapidibus Pretiosis, eorumque viribus et usu tractatus*, which appeared in Italian in 1581 or 1587 and in Latin with the above title in 1603, and the *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia* of Anselmus Boetius de Boot, physician of Rudolph II, which was printed in 1609. De Boot's book attempts to be scientific; and the second edition of Baccius' book, which contains a learned commentary by Wolfgang Gabelchover, is a vast improvement over the magical disquisitions of this type that plagued the minds of mediaeval and renaissance men.

Bassius gives twenty pages of his book to an account of the curative qualities of the bezoar and of his experiments with it.<sup>4</sup> De Boot also discusses the bezoar at length.<sup>5</sup> He recognized it as a cure for infections, palpitation of the heart, melancholia, quartane, epilepsy, worms, and a large number of other diseases. "Breviter lapis Bezoar ad omnes diuturnos, & importunos morbos etiam qui a statu originem ducunt, Panaceae instar est, si praevia purgatione, per aliquot dies mane exhibeatur."<sup>6</sup> The bezoar is, one sees in this

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* (Cambridge, 1923), p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Nashe writes in *The Prayse of the Red Herring*: "did not this counter-poyson of the spitting sicknesse (sittiefolde more restorative then *Bezer*) patch them out and preserve them." (Ed. McKerrow, III, 184.) See Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, II, 5 (*Works*, ed. Keynes, II, 158) for the physician's point of view or F. C. Jadertinus, *De Modo Collegiandi Pronosticandi et Curandi Febres* (Venice, 1528), p. 20v, and Garcia da Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India* (trans. Markham, London, 1913), pp. 363-364.

<sup>3</sup> *A Book of Seventeenth-Century Prose* (New York, 1929), p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* (Frankfort, 1603), pp. 179-196.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* (Leyden, 1636), pp. 361-370.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 370.

later definition, not a remedy against poison nor a specific but a panacea. This notion is sustained by Baccius:

Unde postea tanti aestimatus fuit Bezoar, ut omnem medicinam, morborum malignorum saevitiam frangentem, per excellentiam, Bezoarticam nuncupaverint, hoc nomine in hunc usque diem durante, eo, quod hominem a morte praeservet et liberet.<sup>7</sup>

Donne probably had these contemporary definitions in mind.

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### NAHUM TATE, LAUREATE: TWO BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Close students of the lives of the poets laureate should find the following information about Nahum Tate of some interest and importance. It is now, as far as I know, presented publicly for the first time.

i. In his own preface to the second edition of his poem about tea,<sup>1</sup> Tate is replying to those critics who have censured him for electing to compose a poem upon a subject as trivial as the tea plant. The subject, he maintains, is not trivial: "For I must honestly acknowledge, 'tis to This (despicable) Tea-Leaf that I owe Recovery out of a weakly Constitution from the very Cradle. . . ." Attention is thus drawn to the fact that Tate was not of a robust constitution; and here lies, perhaps, the key to the understanding of the pessimism, discouragement, and general lassitude by which the great bulk of all his work is strongly marked. It is difficult to be optimistic and mentally animated and alert when the body is frail.

ii. That Tate's great patron was Charles, Earl of Dorset, is generally known; that he acknowledges assistance from Bucking-

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 179. See also Nicolas Monardes, *Simplicium Medicamentorum ex novo orbe delatorum quorum in medicina usus est historia* (Antwerp, 1593), pp. 394-402, 447-454, or in the English version, *Joyful News Out of the Newfound World* (Frampton, 1580), pp. 120v-132. In Guido Pancirolli's *Res Memorabiles sive Deperditae*, one of the first documents in the war between the ancients and the moderns, the bezoar is praised in a special chapter as a modern wonder: "Latini & Graeci preciosum hunc lapidem nunquam norunt."

<sup>1</sup> "A Poem upon Tea" (London, printed for J. Nutt, 1702).

ham has also been noted. What has been overlooked, however, is that Tate had another patron in the Earl of Carlisle. The evidence is as follows. In the *Majestas Imperii Britannici*, a small collection of Latin poems by Lewis Maidwell paraphrased in English by Nahum in the year 1706, there is a dedication addressed to Charles, Earl of Carlisle. It includes these words: "I took to be a Debt of Duty, having had the Favor of being Many Years under the Patronage of the Lord *Carlisle* . . . Your Lordship's Ever Honor'd Father." (P. [3].) The Charles referred to was Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle, who was born in 1674. He was the son of Edward, second Earl of Carlisle (d. 1692), who must have been the patron to whom Tate refers. Edward succeeded to the title on the death of his father, Charles, the first Earl, in 1685. It is clear, therefore, that for some years between 1685 and 1692, by his own statement, Tate enjoyed the favour of the second Earl. Dorset was dead in 1706, and the dedication of the paraphrases of Maidwell to Charles probably represents one of Tate's anxious efforts to secure a new patron. The ominous silence which follows makes it clear that this sanguine expectation never was realized.

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H. F. SCOTT-THOMAS

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#### THE AUTHORSHIP OF A GENERAL VIEW OF THE STAGE

*A General View of the Stage* was published in London and Dublin in 1759.<sup>1</sup> We are informed on the title page that Mr. Wilkes is the author, and the dedication to Lord Mornington is signed Thomas Wilkes; but bibliographical authorities relying on statements made by biographical dictionaries have consistently proclaimed that Wilkes was a pen name used by Samuel Derrick. This problem of the authorship of the work has never been completely solved.

Derrick was Boswell's little Irish friend and his "first tutor in the ways of London." The Irishman edited an edition of Dryden's poems which contained extensive critical notes, and he was the author of a considerable amount of hack work; but his authorship

<sup>1</sup> London, J. Coote; Dublin, W. Whetstone.



of *A General View of the Stage* has been denied by William J. Lawrence, the authority on the Irish drama. In a letter to *Notes and Queries* for May 11, 1912, Lawrence pointed out that he had found the following obituary notice in the *Dublin Evening Post* for June 15, 1786:

Tuesday evening at his lodgings in Michael's Lane, Mr. Thomas Wilkes, author of *A General View of the Stage*, and Editor of Swift's Letters etc. etc. educated in the University of Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

Lawrence also indicated that one Thomas Wilkes was a Dublin correspondent of David Garrick.<sup>3</sup> These discoveries convinced Lawrence that the work was by Thomas Wilkes of Dublin.

Derrick continues to be credited with the authorship of the work by many writers on the eighteenth century drama, but I have found further evidence corroborating Wilks's authorship. A few years ago I discovered that a collection of manuscript letters by Derrick and his friends was in the Forster Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, among them several of George Faulkner, the well known Dublin publisher. In April, 1759, Faulkner wrote from Dublin to Derrick, who was then living in England:

I suppose you hear often from Wilks, who can give you a much better account of theatrical affairs than I can possibly do, as he is active, and I an invalid and a cripple.

On December 18, 1759, Faulkner again writes from Dublin:

Both your pleasing letters of the 1st and 7th instant and that for Mr. Wilks came by yesterday's mail. That gentleman hath got much reputation by his writings on the stage.

In a further letter Faulkner described Wilks as "the greatest theatrical critic" that he knew. The following statement occurs in the preface to Derrick's *Poetical Dictionary*:

Mr. Wilks of Dublin, who sometime since published an entertaining view of the stage, furnished us with some materials from his elegant collection of poets, for which it is necessary here to thank him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A photostat of this notice has been examined and found to be identical with that quoted by Mr. Lawrence.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the most Celebrated Persons of his Time*, ed. James Boaden (London, 1833), I, 530-1.

<sup>4</sup> *A Poetical Dictionary: or, The Beauties of the English Poets, Alphabetically Displayed* (London, 1761), p. xi. Internal evidence and a MS.

Although the preface is unsigned, other passages indicate clearly that it is written by the editor.

Tate Wilkinson, the actor, relates that when he visited Ireland, in 1759, Garrick gave him a letter to "a Mr. Wilks who had just then finished a history of the Irish stage, and had paid Mr. Garrick most lavish compliments."<sup>5</sup> *A General View of the Stage* contains a chapter devoted to Garrick's "different excellencies," and two on the Irish theatre.

A comparison of *A General View of the Stage* with Derrick's *Remarks Upon the Tragedy of Venice Preserved*, which appeared as the first number of the *Dramatic Censor* in 1752, has revealed that a few passages from the latter have been quoted almost verbatim in *A General View of the Stage*. Notices of the book appeared in several London papers at the time of publication. The *London Chronicle*<sup>6</sup> and the *Gentleman's Magazine*<sup>7</sup> state that it is by "Mr. Wilkes of Dublin." The *Critical Review* remarks: "This book was written by a private gentleman (who resides at Dublin) for his amusement."<sup>8</sup>

The author states in the preface to *A General View of the Stage* that he does not offer the work as a finished performance. "He is convinced," he says, "that first attempts seldom reach perfection. . . ." Such a remark could not have been made by Derrick, who had already published several works in 1759.

Since Mr. Wilks of Dublin was an authority on the drama, wrote a history of the stage in 1759, and was a friend of Derrick who himself acknowledged that Wilks wrote "a view of the stage," there can be no doubt that this gentleman was Thomas Wilkes and that he was the author of *A General View of the Stage*. It is also clear that Wilkes borrowed freely from Derrick's account of Otway's *Venice Preserved*.

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letter from George Faulkner in the Victoria and Albert Museum indicate that Derrick was the editor of this anthology.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs of His On Life* (York, 1790), II, 151. I am indebted to the late Mr. Lawrence for pointing this out to me.

<sup>6</sup> V (1759), 254.

<sup>7</sup> XXIX (1759), 134.

<sup>8</sup> VII (1759), 447.

"A PARADISE WITHIN THEE" IN MILTON, BYRON,  
AND SHELLEY

The parting words of Michael in *Paradise Lost* are: serve God in deeds as well as words, practice the Christian virtues, and you will "possess a paradise within thee."<sup>1</sup> Lucifer, in Byron's *Cain*, holds out too the promise of an internal world which Cain is to build for himself by taking heed of the lesson he has learned:

Think and endure, and form an inner world  
In your own bosom—where the outward fails;  
So shall you nearer be the spiritual  
Nature, and war triumphant with your own.

(*Cain*, II, ii, 463-6)

But the lesson which Cain has learned from his journeyings through "myriads of starry worlds"<sup>2</sup> in "the abyss of space"<sup>3</sup> is precisely the opposite of that which Adam has learned from his vision of the history of mankind, a vision which is carefully confined to "this transient world" and which stops short of the "abyss, Eternity, whose end no eye can reach."<sup>4</sup> Adam has learned that it is best to love and obey God, to be constantly aware of Him and His providence, "Merciful over all his works, with good Still overcoming evil," and that "suffering for Truth's sake Is fortitude to highest victory, And to the faithful Death the Gate of Life."<sup>5</sup> Cain, however, does not depart "in peace of thought" and with "fill of knowledge."<sup>6</sup> He finds the gifts of God few, "and some of those but bitter," and, though his mind can scarcely bring together what he has seen "into calm and clear thought," he aspires to behold the "great double Mysteries,"<sup>7</sup> the dwellings of Jehovah and Lucifer, even if he perish for it. Michael replies to Adam: "This having learnt, thou hast attain'd the sum Of wisdom";<sup>8</sup> but Lucifer, answering Cain's "Alas! I seem nothing," tells him that "the human sum of knowledge" is "to know mortal nature's nothingness."<sup>9</sup> Man does not serve any purpose in the divine scheme of things. In fact there is no divine scheme of things. God, a tyrant lonely in his vast empire,

<sup>1</sup> xii, 574-82.

<sup>2</sup> *Cain*, II, ii, 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Stage direction for II, i.

<sup>4</sup> *P. L.*, xii, 554-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xii, 561-71.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 558-9.

<sup>7</sup> *Cain*, II, ii, 448, 402-3, 405.

<sup>8</sup> *P. L.*, xii, 575-6.

<sup>9</sup> *Cain*, II, ii, 420-2.

so wretched in his height,  
 So restless in his wretchedness, must still  
 Create, and re-create, (Cain, I, i, 161-3)

multiplying Himself in misery. In this world of misery, which is terminated only by death—and death for Cain is not “the Gate of Life” but a fearful, shadowy prospect—to think is to suffer. It is, however, preferable to blind obedience to the “Omnipotent tyrant.”<sup>10</sup> Thinking forces upon man the realization of his insignificance in relation to the universe, but, at the same time, by making him understand the immensity of the universe, it enables him in a sense to master it and to rise above the dust of which he is composed. This is the inner world to be gained by obedience to the injunction: “Think and endure.”

One of Shelley's heroes is also informed of a Paradise which lies within him, but the speaker is neither angel nor devil, but a woman. Cythna, the perfect help-mate of Laon, the idealistic fighter for freedom, comforts her lover and companion:

O dearest love! we shall be dead and cold  
 Before this morn may on the world arise.  
 Wouldst thou the glory of its dawn behold?  
 Alas! gaze not on me, but turn thine eyes  
 On thine own heart—it is a Paradise  
 Which everlasting spring has made its own,  
 And while drear winter fills the naked skies,  
 Sweet streams of sunny thought, and flowers fresh blown,  
 Are there, and weave their sounds and odors into one.  
 In their own hearts the earnest of the hope  
 Which made them great the good will ever find;  
 And though some envious shade may interlope  
 Between the effect and it, One comes behind,  
 Who aye the future to the past will bind—  
 Necessity. (Revolt of Islam, IX, xxvi-xxvii)

The pathos of these lines, which might have been spoken by William Godwin's daughter, is increased when we remember that Shelley at the time of writing this poem feared that he was under the shadow of death.

Rebels living in a time of reaction, Milton, Byron, and Shelley were each faced with the problem of finding within themselves an inner world so that they would not be crushed by the pressure of a

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, I, i, 138.

hostile environment. The inner world of each illumines his character.

Milton is unable to solace himself with the thought that his dream will come true, as Shelley does; Michael, in his last words, foresees not a puissant England, re-invigorated by a newer and greater Reformation, but a world growing more and more evil till the Day of Judgment. Milton had lost his faith in mankind; what he had retained was his faith in the power of the individual man to attain the good. This good is not to be attained by metaphysical speculation, which is identified in Milton's mind with medieval scholasticism and the spirit of skepticism prevalent in the court of Charles II, but through moral discipline and faith in God. Milton's humility in the face of God is accompanied by an exaltation that comes from serving His will, which, together with his consciousness of his great historic rôle, has caused him to be attacked as "arrogant."

In Adam is typified all of mankind. Milton, even in drawing Samson, was able to objectify himself in a way which the self-glorifying Byron and the self-pitying Shelley could not. Cain is one of those Byronic heroes who are a mere projection of Byron himself. He is Byron in revolt against his Calvinist upbringing, yet unable finally to escape from a Calvinist sense of sin. Even before he is sent forth an exile, he is isolated from the rest of human society by his spirit of revolt; even his beloved Adah does not understand him. Lucifer merely articulates the thoughts which were already in him; he had already been aware that this is a world of misery and evil and had begun to seek an inner world of proud defiance and stoicism in suffering and consciousness of superiority.

Shelley does not accept the suffering of this world as a necessary part of the only Paradise to which man can attain, but escapes from it to the contemplation of the millenium. His ability to immerse himself in the ideal world which he created in his poetry, his faith in its realization, and his "consciousness of acting from a lofty and heroic sense of right"<sup>11</sup> enabled "mad Shelley" to keep fighting against all odds.

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<sup>11</sup> Mrs. Shelley's note to *The Witch of Atlas*.

## BYRON'S RETURN FROM GREECE

In *Lord Byron's Correspondence* (1922), John Murray remarked that "there is nothing to indicate the exact date when Byron left Athens on his homeward voyage" from Greece in 1811.<sup>1</sup> But Murray, like even Byron's recent biographers, overlooked the information with which one is able to date the poet's return from his Eastern travels.

One of his acquaintances at Athens whom Byron described as "vastly amiable and accomplished" was young Charles Robert Cockerell, then at the beginning of his distinguished career as artist, archaeologist, and architect.<sup>2</sup> His journal—*Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant, 1810-1817, The Journal of C. R. Cockerell, R.A., edited by his son Samuel Pepys Cockerell* (1903)—contains a letter which Cockerell sent to England on April 11 by the hand of Byron, who was then leaving Athens.

*April 11th.*—Lord Byron embarked to-day on board the transport (which is carrying Lord Elgin's Marbles) for Malta. He takes this letter with him, and will send it on to you, I trust, immediately on his arrival in England. I must close, as he is just off for the Piraeus.<sup>3</sup>

Byron's ship, the *Hydra* transport, did not sail at once, however, but waited several days, apparently off the Piraeus. The Elgin papers relating to the transportation of the Marbles show that the ship finally got under way on April 22 and reached Malta eight days later on the 30th.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, ironically enough, Byron began his homeward voyage from Greece on a ship laden with part of the spoils gathered by agents of Lord Elgin, whom he had vilified in *The Curse of Minerva*, written approximately a month earlier. What is more,

<sup>1</sup> I. 31. "There are no letters extant from Byron between 18 March 1811 and 15 May of that year. . . . As the journey from Athens to Malta in those days took about ten days, we may assume that Byron left Athens on or about the 4th May 1811." In *The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals* (1898-1901) Prothero gives no letter between those to Byron's mother from Athens, February 28, and from the *Volage* frigate, at sea, June 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29. Cockerell is also mentioned at pp. 22, 23, 24, and 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels in Southern Europe*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48 and 50, and A. H. Smith, "Lord Elgin and His Collection," *Journal Hellenic Studies*, xxxvi (1916), 281-82.



when Byron started for England on June 2 or 3, after a few days more than a month in Malta, he carried a letter from Elgin's chief draughtsman, Lusieri, to none other than the "pictish peer" who had desecrated the Parthenon by removing its sculpture.<sup>5</sup>

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### GALSWORTHY'S GENEALOGICAL ERROR

In a novelist with such a pronounced interest in genealogy as John Galsworthy a genealogical error is somewhat remarkable. Yet such an error occurs in all the editions of *The Forsyte Saga* and I do not find any previous mention of it by scholars or critics. In Part I, Chapter V of *To Let*, Galsworthy accounts for the fact that Val Dartie and Holly Forsyte Dartie have no children on the grounds that they had decided that, since they were first cousins, it would be unsafe. Twice in a single paragraph (p. 90) Galsworthy describes them as "first cousins."

But we have only to recall the events of the first novel of the series, *The Man of Property*, to know that this husband and wife were second cousins. A glance at the Forsyte family tree will make this clear. Superior Dosset Forsyte begat James and Old Jolyon; James begat Winifred Forsyte Dartie, who begat Val Dartie; Old Jolyon begat Young Jolyon, who begat Holly. Hence Winifred and Young Jolyon were first cousins, and Val and Holly second cousins.

This error becomes the more remarkable since in the novel which immediately preceded *To Let* in the series, *In Chancery*, Galsworthy has correctly described Val and Holly as second cousins. In Part I, Chapter VII, p. 141 of *In Chancery*, Val introduces himself to Holly as her second cousin, and again in Part II, Chapter I, p. 220, Galsworthy has Jolly Forsyte, the brother of Holly, refer to Val as a second cousin.

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<sup>5</sup> See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 282. Lusieri and, presumably too, his brother-in-law, Nicolo Giraud, the young Greek friend of Byron who was given seven thousand pounds in the Newstead will of August 12, 1811, had accompanied Byron (and the Marbles) to Malta.

# REVIEWS

- Das Historische Drama in England von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart.* By ROBERT FRICKER. Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, Band 8. Bern: A Francke Ag., 1940. Pp. vi + 363.
- Die Entwicklung des sozialen Dramas in England vor Galsworthy.* By HORST FRENZ. Bleicherode am Harz: Carl Nieft, 1938. Pp. 69.
- 'Romeo and Juliet' as an Experimental Tragedy.* Annual Lecture of the British Academy, 1939. By H. B. CHARLTON. London: Humphrey Milford; New York: Oxford University Press, [1940]. Pp. 45. \$.85.
- Rhetoric in Spenser's Poetry.* By HERBERT DAVID RIX. Pennsylvania State College Studies, No. 7. State College, Pa., 1940. Pp. 88.
- A Study of Spenser's Gentleman.* By JAMES LYNDON SHANLEY. Evanston, Ill., 1940. Pp. viii + 55.
- Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon.* By MARION BODWELL SMITH. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1940. Pp. vii + 213.
- Harington & Ariosto: A Study in Elizabethan Verse Translation.* By TOWNSEND RICH. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 228. \$2.00.
- Antichrist and The Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle.* By BROTHER LINUS URBAN LUCKEN, F. S. C. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1940. Pp. x + 158.
- The Poems of Thomas Pestell.* Edited with an account of his life and work by HANNAH BUCHAN. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1940. Pp. lvi + 146. 12/6.
- Some Seventeenth-Century Worthies in a Twentieth-Century Mirror.* By R. BALFOUR DANIELS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. x + 156. \$2.00.
- Sir Thomas Elyot's 'The Defence of Good Women.'* Edited by EDWIN JOHNSTON HOWARD. Oxford, Ohio: The Anchor Press, 1940. Pp. ix + 85. \$1.25.
- Shakespeare Studies: Julius Caesar.* By BLANCHE COLES. New York: R. R. Smith, 1940. Pp. xii + 281. \$2.50.

By far the weightiest in this group of miscellaneous studies is the Swiss doctoral dissertation, from the University of Basel, by Robert Fricker. *Das Historische Drama in England* (more properly Britain) is a thorough, methodical, and philosophical examination of the historical play from the late eighteenth century to Yeats and Eliot, so thorough that scarcely a play can have been overlooked. The treatment is analytical, within the general framework of chronology, by types and motifs rather than by authors. Herr Fricker has plotted his course through a great mass of plays with a sure hand and with an eye constantly on the tempers of the successive periods, with the result that his study is unexpectedly rich and informative. To give an adequate summary of his book would be to exceed the space at my disposal. I must be content to recommend it as an indispensable aid to the student of British drama since 1800.

Dr. Horst Frenz's dissertation is a much slighter affair, the method of which is to take samples of the social drama from Holcroft on, comparing them whenever possible with treatments of similar themes by Galsworthy, who is taken as the goal or pattern of a serious, realistic, humanitarian sociological dramaturgy. Dr. Frenz's purpose is to show how the drama of the nineteenth century struggled, often ineptly but with increasing knowledge and without foreign help, to find this pattern. The resulting exposition is hardly more than a sketch, but it is a sketch in which the lines are rightly drawn.

Professor Charlton's British Academy lecture is an example of critical ego feeding itself on Shakespeare, such as this scholar has provided before now and such as characterizes a good deal of contemporary British Shakespeare criticism. His thesis in brief is this: In choosing a domestic subject for his tragedy Shakespeare made "aesthetically well-nigh an anarchist's gesture" (but what about *Arden of Feversham*?); having chosen to write of the innocent loves of two young citizens, he was thrown back on the feud and on fate as the motivating forces in the inherited story; but he virtually destroyed the feud as an active force, and his choice of fate was unlucky because fate could no longer be taken seriously as "a deity strong enough to carry the responsibility of tragic necessity." Hence the tragedy is essentially a failure, although saved in a measure by its delightful accessories. Here is an argument which is based more on what Professor Charlton thinks Shakespeare ought to have done than on what he really did. To consider the feud, it is true that throughout the first two acts Shakespeare weakens the feud almost to vanishing; but he does so deliberately and not inadvertently, so that by a compelling and perfectly natural chain of circumstances, culminating in the remarkable first scene of Act III, he can revive that dying monster for one last annihilating blow. Tragic peripety and tragic irony, in their most unforeseen

and unavoidable form, are nowhere better exemplified in Shakespeare. The first two acts are almost pure comedy, in itself a sufficient reason for those ominous warnings which must necessarily take the form of fatal premonitions. It is true that the tragic scheme of this play is unique in Shakespeare, that he has used not fate, not an opposing malevolence, not a flaw in character as the destructive element, but natural human circumstance, embodied mostly in the spontaneous passions of Romeo, Tybalt, Mercutio, and Capulet. Fate has really no part in this play; ill-luck and all-too-human impulsiveness have. Call the play experimental if you will, call it indeed if you must an inferior tragic pattern, but do not call it a failure except in the eye of a narrow critical dogmatism.

Of the two Spenser monographs Professor Rix's is the more substantial. Composed in large part of illustration of Spenser's use of the many formal schemes recommended by Renaissance rhetoricians, it has a thesis of some importance, namely, that the principles of rhetorical adornment were indispensable to the poet in planning the architecture and in choosing the details of his poems. They were the tools of a sound, systematic craftsmanship. Dr. Shanley, from the *Faerie Queene*, builds up Spenser's concept of the ideal gentleman, which turns out to agree in the main with ideas accepted in his time but has some variations, notably in emphasizing the worth of military prowess. The scholarship is of a superficial, descriptive kind, which involves little more than a careful reading of Spenser and a knowledge of modern authorities on Renaissance gentility.

Dr. Smith applies to Marlowe the technique of imagery-analysis perfected by Miss Spurgeon, gathering the images under the heads of learning, body, domestic life, daily life, nature, animals, and arts. He believes that he is able to establish predilections among these classes which are consistent enough to be used as guides, or at least checks, to the discovery of Marlowe's presence or absence in many places. The second half of his dissertation applies his conclusions to some fourteen plays in which Marlowe's hand has been suspected, with results which are interesting but which cannot be detailed here. It will serve as a sample to say that Marlowe's participation is granted in *Arden of Feversham*, I and III *Henry VI*, and *A Larum for London*, and denied in *Richard III* (although the influence of his style of imagery is admitted), *Julius Caesar*, *Taming of A Shrew*, *Lust's Dominion*, *Selimus*, and *Troublesome Reign of King John*. Dr. Smith is careful not to claim more than contributory validity for his kind of evidence; but as a matter of fact it has a stronger authority than most of the other internal evidences, in cases where there is a sufficiency of text. The printing is rather careless; errors exist on pp. 4, 12, 198, 199, and 201.

Dr. Rich makes *Orlando* the center for a study of Harington's life and character. There is a good deal which will be useful to

scholars, particularly to those who want to know something about the poem without the labor of reading it. Dr. Rich discusses among other things the principal Italian editions, Harington's treatment of the text, his additions to the text, and his highly personal notes. But unfortunately Harington's wit has struck no answering spark. Dr. Rich plods conscientiously after the skipping epigrammatist, who deserves a brilliant essay and perhaps some day will get it.

Brother Lucken's careful and cautious study of the Antichrist legend is unable to find a definite source for the two plays on *Antichrist* and *The Prophets of Antichrist* in the Chester cycle. The most that he is willing to say is that the *Antichrist* is in the tradition of the monk Adso and that the *Prophets* (a unique play) is probably an imitation of the *Processus Prophetarum*, suggested by the parallelism between Christ and Antichrist. For the Fifteen Signs of Doom appended to the *Prophets*, he finds a close parallel in John Mirk's *Festial*, which he believes to be the source. But Mirk's sermon was composed seventy or more years after the date commonly assigned to the cycle. Therefore the Signs of Doom may be a later addition, a theory to which Brother Lucken inclines because there is no organic connection between the *Prophets* and the Signs.

Miss Buchan has done well by Thomas Pestell, a very minor clergyman-poet of the seventeenth century, providing a text with full apparatus of notes and a biographical introduction. Pestell's life, particularly the part during the Commonwealth, was a tragedy-comedy which is more likely to interest the modern reader than his poetry. Yet his verse, unimportant for the most part, has at times a saving grace that makes it worth keeping.

Professor Daniels' essays are brief ruminations on a variety of seventeenth century matters, chosen according to no plan but his own liking, prying occasionally into obscure corners but mostly touching on the familiar. They are sound and informative rather than adventurous and provocative, which is but cool praise for the informal literary essay.

The *Defence of Good Women* is a facsimile reprint, beautifully executed, of the first edition, edited by Professor Howard with a brief introduction and notes on the textual variations of the second edition.

Miss Coles' *Julius Caesar*, presumably like her companion studies of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, represents the new pedagogy of Shakespeare which relieves the student of every incentive to effort by telling him the historical background, what the dialogue means, what happens, and what the critics have said about this, that, and the other. Nothing is left for the student to do except plough through her book; he doesn't even need to read the play.

*The Variants in the First Quarto of 'King Lear,' A Bibliographical and Critical Inquiry.* By WALTER WILSON GREG. Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions, no. 15. London: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 192.

Scholars already owe a great debt to Dr. Greg for his basic work on so many problems of Elizabethan drama and literature. The present monograph is no exception to his long record of painstaking care in the assembling and analysis of evidence. It is not too much to say that no scholarly text of *King Lear* could be edited without the data presented in this study and that, perhaps, no one but Dr. Greg could have carried out the research successfully.

It is well known that copies of Q1 differ in that certain sheets are found in two states, corrected and uncorrected. In Chapter II of Part One, Dr. Greg describes the twelve extant copies which he has examined, and provides a table indicating the particular corrected and uncorrected sheets in each copy. In Chapter III, he sets down in parallel fashion the fifty material variants which his exhaustive comparison has produced: the uncorrected passage, a notation of the corrections in the corrected forme, and the passage as it stands in the Folio. Dr. Greg's theory as to how the sheets in Q1 happen to have only one forme corrected, never both—with one small but significant exception—is next set forth in Chapter III. Appendix I provides us with a list of errors in the Praetorius facsimile; Appendix II, with misprints in the original; and Appendix III, with doubtful readings in the original. Part II of the monograph shows Dr. Greg at his best in discussing the variant passages given in Chapter III of Part One. "The ultimate question in each individual case," he writes, "is, of course, whether the reading as determined by the corrector agrees or not with the intention of the author." F must have been printed from a copy of Q1 which had been amended by reference to a MS. Greg determines as well as can be done what formes were corrected and what formes were not in this copy of Q1. He then deals with each of the fifty passages to determine what the correct reading should be. It is here that the author employs all the resources of a trained bibliographer, textual critic, lexicographer, student of literature, savant rolled into one. Dr. Greg concludes:

There is no disguising the fact that editors have left the textual criticism of *King Lear* in a thoroughly unsatisfactory state, indeed one is almost tempted to say that no work worth mentioning has hitherto been done on the subject. This is hardly surprising seeing that the necessary apparatus was not available. I believe that now the whole of the information needed is at the disposal of the editors, and it appears to be high time that they set about the job of preparing a text of the play that shall be based upon a properly reasoned estimate of the evidence.

The present *textus receptus*, as Dr. Greg suggests, is unsatisfactory. Wright and Clark, apparently considering the author-



ity of Qq and F of equal strength, constructed an eclectic text. Judging among the variants by taste alone, they took a word from Q1, a word from Q2, a word from F and called the resultant line Shakespeare's. It would seem that we, today, with the great store of bibliographical and textual knowledge acquired since the time of the Cambridge Edition could do better. Unfortunately, what this knowledge does in the case of *King Lear* is to indicate strongly how very difficult the problem of this text really is. Not even the writer of *The Variants in the First Quarto of 'King Lear'*—which because of its thoroughness and lucidity must be indispensable to any future editor of the play—not even Dr. Greg seems to realize the exasperating nature of the total problem. Full description entails some repetition of what has been written above.

Extant copies of Q1 differ in that certain formes are to be found in both a corrected and an uncorrected state. The copy for F was, apparently, a Q1 amended by reference to a MS., this particular Q1 consisting like the other copies which have come down to us of some sheets corrected and some sheets not. (Miss Doran, one may add, because of similarities of punctuation and spelling, seems to think that the compositor of F at times followed Q2!) Dr. Greg points out that when F and Q1 agree, there is less warrant for the reading than when F's reading differs from Q1's. But even this assumption is based on the hidden assumption that F is a text superior to Q1. Let us, however, for the moment assume with Greg and Chambers that Q1 is a shorthand report of an actual performance. If Q1 is a bad quarto, then F's is the sole text of any clear authority. Since F was based on Q1, however, there is always the possibility that the F editor was careless in his correcting of Q to conform to the MS. before him and retained Q1 when he should have changed it. Or the MS. was so difficult to decipher that he had, perforce, to allow the Quarto's reading to stand. Furthermore, even if F is based on a corrected sheet of Q1, it does not necessarily follow that the reading of the uncorrected sheet is without warrant, for the correction may be a guess on the part of the Q1 proofreader—and we may find ourselves with Greg speculating on the reading in the MS. which the Q1 compositor had before him!

The problem, of course, is to get Shakespeare's text. Is F superior? What if an editor follows Miss Doran's view and holds that Q1 represents a revision of the version upon which F is based? What if an editor holds with Van Dam that Q1 is "far superior to the F version," that Q1 "belongs to the class of printed plays nearest to Shakespeare's originals," and that F is but a revision of the prompt-book?

The present reviewer doesn't for a moment consider either Miss Doran's or Van Dam's views on the relationship of the texts substantiated. But even if Q1 be a debased text, in what way is it debased, where is it debased? An editor can't merely shrug his

shoulders and say that Q1 is correct, that anyone can see that it is! Even though textual criticism be an art rather than a science and even though taste be constantly a criterion, still one does try to get as much objective evidence for a reading as one can. One *tries* to get out of the dark of simple personal judgment. In the matter of the *King Lear* F-Q1 relationship, there is one way and only one way of establishing some sort of tangible locus, and that is to see whether Q1 bears the same relationship to F as the other bad quartos do to their good texts. No one seriously holds now that Q1 of *Hamlet* is anything but a corruption of the true text given in Q2. To say that Q1 of *King Lear* is a shorthand report is not to advance the inquiry. If Q1 of *King Lear* stands in the same relationship to F as the bad quarto, say, of *Henry V* stands to the F version, then F text of *King Lear* must represent the anterior text. The better—so to speak—the bad quarto of a particular play is, the harder it is to convince scholars that the good text is closer to Shakespeare and earlier. In 1929 Peter Alexander, after showing that *The Contention* and *The True Tragedie* are memorial perversions of II and III *Henry VI* as given in the Folio, went to great length to show that Q of *Richard III* did *not* stand in the same relation to the F text. He argued, in short, that Q of *Richard III* was a good quarto. Yet eight years later, in 1936, David Lyall Patrick showed clearly in *The Textual History of Richard III* that the quarto contained constant examples of memorial confusion! This reviewer suggests that a bold scholar, working along the lines of Greg in his classic study of *Orlando Furioso* in *Two Elizabethan Stage Abridgements*, should be able to show that the text of Q1 of *King Lear* is nothing but a corruption of the text in the F. When this task has been done thoroughly, when the primal authority of F has been established by means of this comparison, then the editing of *King Lear* can begin in earnest.

St. Louis University

LEO KIRSCHBAUM

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*Donne's Imagery: A Study in Creative Sources.* By MILTON ALLAN RUGOFF. New York: Corporate Press, 1939. Pp. 270. \$2.50.

Mr. Rugoff has performed a service to the students of Donne: quantitatively, by measuring the fields of his imagery; qualitatively, by assessing their significance. In the qualitative aspect, however, his service will be variously received. He confirms, by detailed evidence though ambiguous interpretation, the modern view of the operation of Donne's poetic method; he compares, by the aid of Professor Spurgeon's analyses, the fields of imagery employed by Donne with those employed by other Elizabethans. His fundamental premise is that imagery betrays personality, or that the

choice of imagery, being relatively free, reveals "interest." But in general this premise is not allowed to force conclusions, since other considerations appear at times to offset it, especially when the showing is negative. For instance, although Donne was interested in law, legal imagery is not very prominent in his work; hence he must have felt that legal imagery had been overworked. To this inference some readers might oppose the proposition that legal casuistry appears in the dialectical mode of his work.

Occasionally Mr. Rugoff himself denies any necessary connection in imagery between "use" and "interest"; he does so by emphasizing in Donne a tendency toward the precise, abstruse, or bizarre which influences his use of any particular field. We may ask whether Donne's "proclivity toward the mechanical" betrays an "interest" or an exigence of expression. Does he choose a technical image because it is technical or because it provides the means for nice discrimination? If the functions rather than the appearances of things occupy Donne, are we to conclude that his use of functional or interpretive metaphor is a consequence of his interest in mechanics? When we are told that the number of images which issue from the direct experience of the senses is negligible in Donne (p. 227), we want to know why Donne was ever called sensual, or why any stomachs were ever queasy over the "Elegies." Mr. Rugoff, in fact, is so preoccupied with the intellectual aspects of Donne's imagery that we are likely to get the impression not only that his imagery is defecated of all substance, but that his abstractions are not highly energized shadows.

In regarding imagery in its substance as "most revelatory" of the creative imagination (p. 14), Mr. Rugoff has Coleridge against him: "Imagery,—(even taken from nature, much more when transplanted from books, as travels, voyages, and works of natural history) . . . may . . . be acquired as a trade"; it is not a gift of imagination (*Biographia*, Ch. xv). Even if we agree with Mr. Rugoff, we cannot be sure that in delimiting "creative sources" he has been able to distinguish between imagery taken from nature and imagery taken from books; for instance, from the Bible. Again, if we recall "The Song of Solomon," Donne's fusion of the erotic and the religious may seem less open to personal inference. Even in his day these two regions of strong feeling had long been as ready to exchange their imagery as their paradox. Furthermore, to ascribe intellectual sympathy to one set of images rather than another, in astronomy for example, may seem hazardous to some readers; T. S. Eliot, incidentally, found that "Donne merely picked up, like a magpie, various shining fragments of ideas as they struck his eye, and stuck them about here and there in his verse." While Sir Thomas Browne held poets responsible for promoting error through their similitudes, he did not accuse them of believing in the sources of their own similes.

In conclusion Mr. Rugoff has sought to distinguish Donne's originality by comparing his fields of imagery with those of his contemporaries, as analyzed by Professor Spurgeon. On the use of figures John Hoskins—no rubberstamp contemporary of Donne—remarked that he had used and outworn six several styles since he was first Fellow of New College; he even particularized as follows: "whilst mathematics were in request, all our similitudes came from lines, circles, and angles; whilst moral philosophy is now a while spoken of, it is rudeness not to be sententious" (*Directions for Speech and Style*, p. 39). These words, written at the end of the sixteenth century, may be set against Mr. Rugoff's remark (p. 72), apropos of mathematics, "that as a source of imagery this entire branch of learning, so fertile for Donne was virtually barren for his contemporaries." Although predisposed to such remarks, Mr. Rugoff is not unaware that Donne's originality is not dependent upon the truth of such statements: he does comment on Donne's "use" of various sources of imagery.

Together with interesting observations, this book provides detailed evidence by which to evaluate the modern description of Donne's style. Mr. Rugoff has performed his task with energy and enthusiasm, and has translated rather intractable material into a readable account.

GEORGE WILLIAMSON

*The University of Chicago*

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*Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry, 1500-1925.*

By LEICESTER BRADNER. Modern Language Association of America, General Series, no. X. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. xii + 384. \$3.50.

*Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae.* By JOHN RAINOLDS. With an introduction and commentary by WILLIAM RINGLER and an English translation by WALTER ALLEN, JR. Princeton Studies in English, no. 20. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 96. \$1.50.

*Nobilis or a View of the Life and Death of a Sidney and Lessus Lugubris.* By THOMAS MOFFET. With introduction, translation and notes by VIRGIL B. HELTZEL and HOYT H. HUDSON. San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1940. Pp. xxiv + 146. \$3.75.

All of these studies are documents in the history of Anglo-Latin literature and should prove to the students of the vernacular the importance of examining this department of our national

culture. With many carefully chosen illustrations, Professor Bradner shows how this tradition continued through four centuries, and the other two books provide references for the yet unwritten history of Anglo-Latin prose. One will not go to Rainolds's oration for new data on Renaissance theories of criticism; and though the newly discovered biography of Sidney supplies a few new colors to that already over-decorated idol, the philopophils will find that it is essentially another ecstatic panegyric. The importance of the two editions resides in what they tell one about Anglo-Latin prose, that subtle blending of classical and patristic Latin, of Augustus and Augustine. For those who do not read Latin, the editors of both texts have made excellent translations which recapture, as well as translations can, the nuances and tone of the originals. As one reads the Latin or the English of these texts, one should think of Donne, Hall, Taylor, Fuller, Henry More, Felltham, Stillingfleet, and other seventeenth century prose masters. There are some obvious analogies.

Professor Bradner's book is of the greatest importance. It is the first history of Anglo-Latin poetry to be printed; it is the child of a long and honest affection; and it is crammed with fire-new information, a condition most rare in an age given to rewriting old books. One does not propose to discuss this book from the standpoint of a student of Anglo-Latin letters; the professors of Latin should be allowed to discover that it is as good a book as Ellinger's and infinitely better than Mann's. Since this work is a sort of 1776 for those students who have insisted that a knowledge of neo-Latin writers is necessary for a better knowledge of vernacular men of letters, one should mention a few of the things that a student of English literature can gain from this book.

The student of English literature whose Latin has gotten rusty or whose Latin never existed should not read Bradner's book from cover to cover; he should read those chapters which include the period of his special interest for in them he will find much to inform and enlighten. He will obtain the expert opinion of Professor Bradner on the Latin poetry of Jortin, Hobbes, Gray, Johnson, and other writers who performed in two rings. The student of English literature will also discover that the Anglo-Latin poets often set the vogue for the vernacular poets. The eclogue, the city poem, the river panegyric, and other verse fashions were first perfected by the neo-Latins; the Elizabethan historical poem drew its strength from the earlier historical verse of the Latin poets. The forms of vernacular poetry were also affected by the verse of the later Latins. Those students of English literature who have been struck by the metrical irregularities of seventeenth century poetry should read Bradner's brilliant exposition of the use of the irregular line by the Latin poets of the same age. In a similar fashion, specialists in the eighteenth century will find that the partiality of the Anglo-Latin poets of that age for the Horatian ode is signifi-



cant. Finally, the student of the vernacular will discover in this book the importance of studying the neo-Latins for sheer questions of fact. Bradner points out, for example, that a poem of Thomas Drant corrects the *DNB* dates of Hartwell by thirteen years; his discussion of the pseudo-Spenserian *Epithalamium Thamesis* is equally interesting.

Space does not permit a fuller discussion of this valuable work of reference which, one is sure, will be the standard study on this subject for many years. From the standpoint of the non-Latinist, it has, however, a fault; no attempt has been made to translate the numerous illustrative verses which fill its pages. One suspects that this omission was a matter of economics rather than desire. In time Professor Bradner may give us a selected group of translations, a *flores elegantiarum*, to accompany this solid study.

DON CAMERON ALLEN

Duke University

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*English Song-Books, 1651-1702: A Bibliography, with a First-line Index of Songs.* By CYRUS LAWRENCE DAY and ELEANORE BOSWELL MURRIE. London: Oxford University Press, 1940 (for 1937). Pp. xxii + 440. Printed for the Bibliographical Society and issued only to Members.

This volume takes worthy place in the series of the Bibliographical Society's publications. It will be welcomed alike by musicologists and students of English literature. Mr. Day and Mrs. Murrie give minute bibliographical descriptions in chronological order of all editions and issues of English and Scotch secular song-books from 1651 through 1702, one of the great periods of English music. For the convenience of scholars, they locate copies in twenty-two principal collections in the British Isles and America. In addition, they present a vast body of complex information—never before available—in eight different indexes of "First Lines," "Composers," "Authors," "Singers and Actors," "Tunes and Airs," "Sources," "Song-Books" (i. e. titles of song-books), and "Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers." Blessed with so much, I may seem ungrateful to ask for more, but I regret that space could not be found for two other indexes: (1) of the patrons of music to whom the song-books were dedicated; and (2) of the authors of commendatory poems. Such verses are very difficult to trace, particularly when they occur in volumes as rare as those listed in the *Bibliography*, and specialists would, I am sure, welcome information about the commendatory poems contributed to these song-books by Waller, Lovelace, Shadwell, Katharine Phillips, and two or three score others.



A careful examination of over fifty of the song-books indicates that the bibliographical descriptions are accurate and the indexes reliable. Since the compilation of the *Bibliography*, a number of items have been acquired or identified by the Folger Library, so that, in addition to those already recorded, it should be noted that the Folger possesses copies of Nos. 4, 12, 16, 45, 52, 99, 104, 107, 119, 125, 210a, 218, 220, 223, 244, and 245. I give below a few corrections, some of which may be merely variants in Folger copies. No. 30, the head-title is on sig. <sup>2</sup>A<sub>1</sub>. No. 41, the signature is not A<sup>2</sup>X<sup>2</sup>B-Q<sup>2</sup>, etc., but A<sup>4</sup>B-Q<sup>2</sup>, etc., for A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub> are conjugate, sharing a watermark between them. Further, V<sub>1</sub> and [Y<sub>1</sub>] are conjugate in the Folger copy (i. e. Y<sub>1</sub> = V<sub>2</sub>); and page 75 is mis-numbered 71. No. 54, a vertical rule should be inserted after *London*. No. 57 should read ~~Eng~~=/liah=~~Agres~~. The border on the second title-page is not exactly like that shown in fig. 22: the top central portion of the woodcut, which shows a crack in Day and Murrie's plate, has broken out and has been replaced by three pieces of ornament and a star. No 132 has G<sub>1</sub><sup>r</sup> (page 23) mis-numbered 24; G<sub>1</sub><sup>v</sup> is correctly numbered 24. I have recorded these details not to be captious but solely to aid those who do not have access to the song-books themselves. The *Bibliography* is a thoroughly excellent piece of work and indispensable as a book of reference.

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

*The Folger Shakespeare Library*

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*The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker and the Birth of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity."* By C. J. Sisson. Cambridge: at the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xvi + 204. \$2.50.

Whatever dissatisfaction there may be with Professor Sisson's treatment of the bibliographical problems of Books vi, vii, and viii of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, his proof that the famous marriage with Joan Churchman was truly judicious can never be challenged. In the Parish Register of St. Augustine's at Paul's Gate he finds that the date of that marriage was 13 February, 1587/8, thereby discrediting Walton's story of George Cranmer and Edwin Sandys finding Hooker at Drayton Beauchamp under that wife's hard regiment, denied to his friends and "called to rock the cradle." As Mr. Richard A. Houk has pointed out (*Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Book VIII*, New York, 1931, p. 21), in his sceptical account of that incident, it must have "antedated February seventh 1585," when Hooker was named Master of the Temple. On the strength of new evidence Mr. Sisson con-

demns the tale and surmises that Hooker was "an absentee parson, like so many others of his day," for the whole period of his tenure of Drayton Beauchamp. Certainly he leaves no room for doubt that, if Hooker rocked a cradle there, the baby in it was not Joan Churchman's.

Of course there is no suspicion that she was not Hooker's first wife in these lectures. They simply explode the legend that she came to him portionless. Their marriage now seems to have attended Hooker's establishment in John Churchman's hospitable home ("the house of the Shunamite") by Sandys, whose long co-residence there figures in the Chancery suits from which much of the present evidence is taken. The picture of the Master of the Temple allowing his rival, Travers, to occupy his parsonage while he himself lived with his patron in his father-in-law's house in Watling Street, and there between 1588 and 1593 working out the design for all eight books of the *Laws* and preparing the first five of them for the press, fully corresponds with the bibliographical facts. The picture is not unconvincing. Mr. Houk has already stressed the fact that the publication of the first four books synchronized with the anti-Puritan debate in Parliament in 1593, when Sandys was actively opposed to the extreme Reformers. In showing that he subsidized Hooker to the extent of paying the whole cost of publishing the first five books, and of promising Hooker himself £50 for his work and paying him two substantial instalments on the appearance of the successive instalments of the *Laws* in 1593 and 1597, Mr. Sisson insinuates no venality in either patron or protégé. On the contrary, he sees both acting from conviction and bound together in an ideal friendship. In Hooker's letter of March 13, 1593, to Burleigh, in which he submitted his "simple doings" to that nobleman's "wise judgment," Mr. Sisson sees an instance of their integrity, for he regards the letter not as having accompanied the manuscript of all or of a part of the *Laws* in order to invite the Secretary to censor it, but rather as having gone to him with a copy of the edition of the first four books that was then fresh from Windet's press in order to present him boldly with the opinions of men to whom, as Travers' friend, he may well have been known to be opposed.

But now some ancient doubts arise. Though Mr. Houk's belief that "the charges of corruption of the manuscript copies made by Walton" are "baseless" (pp. 82-83) is now corroborated, Mr. Sisson cannot fully unravel the mystery. With a detective's skill he traces its ramifications back to Dr. John Spenser and exhumes some unwillingly unveracious depositions of his which aggravate the inconsistency of his published statements. The testimony of John Churchman's agent, Culme, about his removal of Hooker's papers immediately after his death from Bishopsbourne to the Churchman home in London, where they were parceled out to

Spenser, Dr. Henry Parry, Sandys, and Lancelot Andrewes, seems to exonerate Joan Churchman from suspicion of having connived at some interference with her husband's manuscripts. We seem now to be fully entitled to accept Spenser's statement in 1604 that Books vi and vii had reached him so nearly complete that by then his "purpose of setting forth the last three books" was well advanced. Mr. Sisson's chapter on "The Suppression of Hooker's Posthumous Manuscripts" surveys the motives which may have led Sandys to share George Cranmer's dissatisfaction with Book vi and so to contribute to its serious truncation as we have it, as well as to the delay about publishing the last three books until after his death. The most interesting point made here is the suggestion that "it is to Andrewes that we owe the preservation of what . . . remains" of Book vi. The most gratifying conclusion to all admirers of Hooker is the round assertion of the authenticity of Books vi and vii as we have them, coupled with permission to explain the disappointing weaknesses of style and argument in Book viii on the ground of the relatively incomplete state in which it reached Spenser.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

*The University of Wisconsin*

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*The Poetry of Matthew Arnold; a Commentary.* By C. B. TINKER and H. F. LOWRY. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. xv + 404. \$3.50.

This work faithfully adheres to the purpose indicated in its subtitle: it is an invaluable bibliographical and critical commentary, designed to accompany a new edition of the complete *Poetical Works* of Matthew Arnold, to be published, possibly, in 1941. It is a guide, not a handbook. In spite of the dust-jacket's assertion, it is not, even in a wide sense, "a new history of Arnold's thoughts and feelings" during his poetic career. It is simply and admirably the presentation of all the important facts about each poem—its sources, genesis, composition, and publication, in so far as these facts are accessible. For the first time we have, in the thorough and painstaking work of Professors Tinker and Lowry, the materials for a clear and genuine account of Arnold's career as a poet. Many readers will lament that the editors have renounced the splendid opportunity to include in the volume an introductory essay on that subject; all will rejoice in the numerous fresh data and suggestions for ultimate conclusions. The occasion for the study was the discovery of a large amount of new information in the "Yale Papers," a seventy-page manuscript purchased from Dr. Gabriel Wells, containing notes, meditations, rough drafts of poems, and a

few unfinished lyrics. These papers, together with unpublished letters, journals, and marginalia have been utilized to solve many of the problems resulting from Arnold's habit of constantly rearranging, classifying, cancelling, restoring, and revising his poems. The study of these materials and of the poems themselves has enabled the editors to indicate new and illuminating emphases: "The Youth of Nature," for example, "in its final sentiment," is less Wordsworthian than classical after the manner of the Greek elegists (p. 188). We learn also to what a surprising extent Arnold's inspiration arose from *literary* sources, a fact which, the editors show, accounts for some of the blunders or confusion in such poems as "Tristram and Iseult," "The Church of Brou," "Haworth Churchyard," and "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse." As a man sensitive to style, he found poetic inspiration not merely in the ideas but also in the "moving and often florid style" of George Sand, Emerson, and Senancour (p. 28).

But it is in the commentary on the great poems that the present volume attains its highest excellence. It supplies us with the first draft of "Lines Written in Kensington Gardens"; it makes invaluable use of the Yale Papers and an unpublished letter in analyzing "Empedocles on Etna" and in giving Arnold's own opinions and interpretations of that poem (pp. 287, 291-92); it indicates the sources, and the curious chronology of parts of "Dover Beach" (pp. 173-78); it presents Arnold's own explanation of "The New Sirens" (pp. 45-49); it affords a highly instructive source-study for "Balder Dead" (pp. 89-106); it quotes the letter to Wyndham Slade in 1850 which not only removes "Faded Leaves" from the Marguerite series but also reveals the poet as "surely not the Arnold of certain romantic accounts . . . a creature dwindled and marred for ever by his separation from Marguerite, a man who, cold and dejected, turned his attention to the inspection of schools and the writing of endless essays on politics and theology" (pp. 167-72). The question of Marguerite is settled in so far as it can now be settled: the "Switzerland" poems began in events, but "were altered and freely idealized according to the mood of the poet" (p. 155). Excellent commentaries are provided on "Resignation," "Rugby Chapel," and "Obermann," but no doubt the most revealing is that on "Obermann Once More" (pp. 261-74), where we learn the true nature of the Arnold of the 'sixties, his mature religious outlook, and the real roots of his poetry, with its classical finish and structure and its romantic "breath and engendering spirit." Space does not permit more than a mention of the fine commentaries on "The Scholar-Gypsy," "Thyrsis," "Sohrab and Rustum," "Merope"; nor more than a recommendation that the lover of "The Scholar-Gypsy" read, in the appendix to the book, Sir Francis Wylie's account of "The Scholar-Gypsy Country." There are also quotations from the unpublished poems which every admirer of Arnold will pore over with keen interest.

It goes without saying that no study of Arnold's poetry can neglect this highly informative presentation of new materials and of critical commentary. It is not only a distinguished work; it is also one of the most useful contributions to Victorian studies in recent years.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

Michigan State Normal College

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### BRIEF MENTION

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*Lessing's Laokoon.* By FRED O. NOLTE. Lancaster, Pa., Lancaster Press, 1940. 175 pages. This book whose title suggests Blümner's well-known monograph on *Lessing's Laokoon*, is very different from the latter work. Blümner wrote for historians of German literature, whereas Nolte's book seems to be primarily addressed to people interested in general aesthetics and art criticism. Read from this point of view, the book offers various interesting discussions, some of which, however, fail to get down to fundamentals. Nolte is perfectly right in pointing out the weakness of any philosophical definition of art, but he can not prove this assertion by calling his own definition of art as an "articulation of an aesthetic experience" a "sheer redundancy" (106 f.). Maybe it is—but I seem to remember definitions which were less redundant and more convincing (Hegel, Vischer, Jonas Cohn, Croce, Gentile). With the word aesthetic in it, the definition is doomed to redundancy, as this term, being an unknown factor itself, is used to explain another unknown factor. As to the concluding chapter, entitled *Criticism for the sake of Criticism* (164 ff.), I can not completely agree with Nolte that "criticism has nothing immediate to do with art" (170 ff.). It is true that criticism can not establish absolute rules which may serve as guides for future creations, but it can and should be the most helpful servant of the work of art, bridging whatever cleavages there may be between it and the public. To be sure, critical writings may have intrinsic value too, but that is not their main objective. One example may demonstrate this: No matter how valuable German criticism of Shakespeare may have been in itself during the past 200 years, its practical significance is what counts, as it was this criticism that paved the way for a true understanding of Shakespeare in Germany. In *Laokoon* the intrinsic value prevails, as its practical influence was of small import, but isn't this rather an exception to the rule than the rule?

HANS M. WOLFF

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*The Poetry of Dorothy Wordsworth.* Edited from the *Journals* by HYMAN EIGERMAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. x + 114. \$2.00. This book, three-quarters or more of it blank paper, does not contain the authentic poetry of Dorothy Wordsworth that is included in the published works of her brother. It consists of a "Foreword" by Hoxie Neale Fairchild, a Preface by the editor, and 84 selections of (mostly) cadenced prose taken from the *Journals* of Dorothy Wordsworth as published by that incredibly bad editor William Knight. If the present book was worth doing at all, Mr. Eigerman should have tried to secure his text from the manuscript sources. He has extracted as well as he could, omitting some, but not all, of the prosy connective tissue of Dorothy's better passages, and has cut and printed them in lines of such length, uneven length, as may content him and others, which we are now asked to regard as verse. Like all the proponents of "free verse" known to me, he gives no sign of knowing anything about the history of rhythmical prose from the time of the Greeks, and of Plato and his students above all, down to Ruskin and De Quincey and others of our time. As for Dorothy Wordsworth, her poetic prose, with its pleasing metaphors and similes mainly drawn from the realm of external nature, is not an ornate prose of the highest order, and will not endure comparison with the best of her brother's prose and verse. Is it ungracious to say that as a poet she has been overrated in the vulgar effort to disparage her brother? We do well to point out what is excellent in her daily words and thoughts; perhaps there is excellence enough to warrant the display of her cadences by the present disproportionate use of blank pages and spaces. Most of the excerpts do not occupy a third of a page apiece. The warm affection of her brother leads us to share his gratitude to her. If he had not expressed it generously, she would not have had so many warm tributes from other sources.

LANE COOPER

*Cornell University*


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*Milton's Rhetoric: Studies in his Defense of Liberty.* By WILBUR ELWYN GILMAN. Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1939. Pp. 193. \$1.25. (The University of Missouri Studies, Volume XIV, Number 3.) This is a Cornell University doctoral dissertation. The author summarizes six of Milton's pamphlets, analyses their structure according to the Aristotelian rhetorical scheme as he understands it, and attempts to set forth the circumstances in which each was composed and published. The summary of Milton's argument is surely something of a work of supererogation. The author's analysis of the rhetoric deals in a decidedly wooden way with only the most obvious features of



Milton's impassioned and often turgid pleading and throws no fresh light on seventeenth-century rhetorical theory and practice. The author has nothing to tell us of the effect on Milton's methods of persuasion of the Ramist logic on which he had been bred and of which he himself wrote a text-book. His discussion of the contemporary historical setting of the tracts is abstracted from a few of the older secondary sources such as Masson and Gardiner and takes no account of recent work on the subject. The very first page of the first chapter, dealing with the background of *Areopagitica*, is a small triumph of inaccurate and imprecise statement. No doubt the preparation of this study contributed something to the author's education, but it is difficult to see what it contributes to our knowledge of Milton.

Columbia University

WILLIAM HALLER

*Biography by Americans 1658-1936, A Subject Bibliography.* By EDWARD H. O'NEILL. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939. Pp. x + 465. \$4.00. This comprehensive bibliography, of some seven thousand items, is a companion piece to Mr. O'Neill's *History of American Biography* (1935). It attempts to list all biographies in book form (except unimportant works, such as insignificant campaign biographies, in the case of particularly famous men), written by Americans and published during the years 1658 to 1936. The first section, of 409 pages, lists individual biographies by subject; the second, of 55 pages, lists collective biographies by author. Each item has author, title, pagination, place and date of publication (of the edition the compiler found convenient to use), and symbols indicating that copies are held by one or more of the following libraries: Library of Congress, New York Public Library, American Antiquarian Society, Huntington Library, University of Pennsylvania, Burton Historical Collection, William L. Clements Library, and the John Carter Brown Library. Most of the items are in the Library of Congress. No attempt has been made to evaluate the items—warning is not given, for example, that A. C. Buell's biography of John Paul Jones is based in part upon manufactured sources. Biographical material in periodicals is not included. There is no index, and one will have some difficulty in locating works by a particular author.

This handy reference work includes subjects, living and dead, omitted from the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and in other ways supplements the *Dictionary*. The student of all aspects of American life will find it informing, and even stimulating. Certainly he will be struck by the range of American biographical writing, by the variety and color of its subject matter, and will, I believe, join the reviewer in feeling grateful to Mr. O'Neill for his painstaking and useful bibliography.

The University of Virginia

BERNARD MAYO

*Shelley in America in the Nineteenth Century: His Relation to American Critical Thought and His Influence.* By JULIA POWER. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1940. Pp. viii + 225. \$1.50. This University of Nebraska doctoral thesis divides Shelley's impact upon American literature into three periods, 1830-50, 1850-72, and 1872-1900, with a final brief comment on Shelley in twentieth-century America. It is a minor disappointment that, if the twentieth century was to receive a glance, Miss Power should have ignored its most conspicuous Shelleyan, Elinor Wylie, who devoted her first royalties to the purchase of Shelley manuscripts, whose poetry shows a curious love of Shelley that is of definite psychological interest, and who actually revived the drowned poet and brought him to America in a novel.

A more serious flaw is that the book practically ignores the obligation imposed by the sub-title. The collection of factual data is indeed thorough. According to my experience it is practically complete, but careful mention of everything an American author says of Shelley still does not reveal how Shelley influenced his style and his social, political, and critical opinions. Massed factual detail still requires interpretation before its impact upon the thought of any particular generation or region becomes clear. Doubtless such a genuinely critical study would be too complicated and far-reaching for most American doctoral candidates. Nevertheless, Miss Power might have profited by a preliminary study of Henri Peyre's *Shelley et la France*, or by an organization which traced Shelley's influence more on the basis of his salient aims and qualities.

NEWMAN I. WHITE

Duke University

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*The Reverend Colonel Finch.* By ELIZABETH NITCHIE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. x + 109. \$1.50. Professor Nitchie's little book is in many ways a model of scholarship: it is a worthy contribution to learning, is not too long, is scrupulously exact, and is well written and interesting. Students of Byron and the Shelleys will be grateful for the discovery that the Reverend Colonel Calicot Finch was no other than Robert Finch, M. A. of Balliol College; and especially for the delightful news that "Calicot" was only a nickname given him privately by the Shelleys, who borrowed it from Biddy Fudge's lover in Thomas Moore's *The Fudge Family in Paris*.

The few lines on Finch in the *DNB*. will show how very much Professor Nitchie has contributed to Finch's biography. Even more important is her careful revelation of his character, for Finch was an extremely interesting person. A relative of Baron

Munchausen he unquestionably was; his tall tales and assumed military title made Byron, the Shelleys, and many others laugh. But there was another side to Finch. He was a man of wide and occasionally deep learning, and he certainly commanded the respect of many learned and artistic persons of Italy and England. The most interesting of his literary associations were with Crabb Robinson, Leigh Hunt, Charles Brown, Joseph Severn, and T. J. Hogg, all of whom took pains to write him good letters. His tragedy was that his talents were mediocre while his thirst for fame was great. The pretentious monument that marks his grave (not far from Shelley's) in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome is a fitting symbol of his life—the ostentation of an illustrious obscure. Professor Nitchie's book will hereafter cause some few to pause before Finch's tomb after they have paid their tribute to Shelley and Keats.

The large collection of Finch manuscripts and relics which Professor Nitchie discovered at Oxford and from which the greater part of her material was drawn contains, among much else, Finch's lengthy diaries and seventeen volumes of correspondence with an astonishing variety of people.

FREDERICK L. JONES

*Mercer University*

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*Annals of the New York Stage*, Volume XII [1882-1885]. By GEORGE C. D. ODELL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xix + 733. \$8.75. This volume covers what is generally regarded as the "golden age" of the New York theatre. It records the advent of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, the popularity of Daly's, the beginning of the Metropolitan Opera House, the triumphs of Adelina Patti. Professor Odell is indefatigable in his researches, and his books contain materials indispensable to the student of American drama and music. The profusion of illustrations, both playbills and photographs, and the careful indexes make the entire series the standard reference guide to the history of the American theatre.

N. BRYLLION FAGIN

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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*The Great Diamond Robbery, & Other Recent Melodramas*. By EDWARD M. ALFRIEND and A. C. WHEELER, CLARENCE BENNETT, CHARLES A. TAYLOR, LILLIAN MORTIMER, and WALTER WOODS. Edited by GARRETT H. LEVERTON. *Five Plays*. By CHARLES H. HOYT. Edited by DOUGLAS L. HUNT. *The Banker's Daughter, &*

*Other Plays.* By BRONSON HOWARD. Edited by ALLAN G. HAL-  
LINE. *An Arrant Knave, & Other Plays.* By STEELE MACKAYE.  
Edited by PERCY MACKAYE. *The Cowled Lover, & Other Plays.*  
By ROBERT MONTGOMERY BIRD. Edited by EDWARD H. O'NEILL.  
*America's Lost Plays*, edited by BARRETT H. CLARK, vols. VIII-XII.  
Princeton University Press, 1940-41. Pp. xvi + 260, xvi + 244,  
xiv + 310, xviii + 238, x + 228. \$5.00 a volume; \$85 the set of  
20 vols. Five more volumes in the welcome series noticed in this  
journal for June, 1941 (LVI, 475-76).

H. S.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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SOCIÉTÉ GENEVOISE DE LINGUISTIQUE. Les linguistes de Genève viennent de se grouper sous la direction de MM. Charles Bally et Alb. Sechehaye en une association, la *Société genevoise de linguistique*, dont le but est "de contribuer d'une façon générale à l'avancement de la science linguistique, principalement en étudiant les systèmes de langues à la lumière des principes et des méthodes de Ferdinand de Saussure." La société est également accessible, aux mêmes conditions que pour les membres locaux, aux personnes domiciliées dans le reste de la Suisse et à l'étranger, ainsi qu'aux sociétés, bibliothèques, instituts et séminaires, etc. Elle fera paraître un organe, les *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure*, qui contiendra des travaux originaux, le compte-rendu des publications reçues et le procès-verbal des séances; les membres le recevront gratuitement ou à prix réduit. Pour tous renseignements, s'adresser au secrétaire, M. Henri Frei, Professeur à l'Université de Genève (Adresse: *Perly*, canton de Genève, Suisse).

THE EDITORS

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MAUPASSANT. Mr. Artine Artinian has formed what he believes to be the most nearly complete collection of Maupassantiana in the world. Beside biographical and critical studies, it includes first editions of all of Maupassant's works, collected works, English translations, editions prepared for the classroom, dramatic adaptations of his works, copies of "Gil Blas," in which many of his tales first appeared, notes on studies that appeared in newspapers and magazines, and other miscellaneous material. He has made this collection, housed at his home in Annandale, accessible to scholars, who may address him at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York.

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